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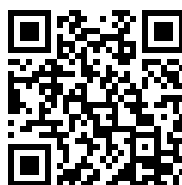
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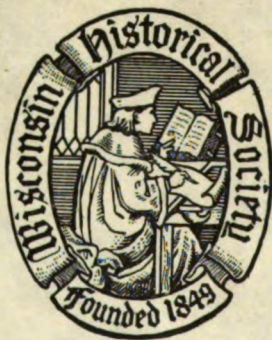
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der
Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen
Gesellschaft von Illinois

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Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Jahrbuch

der

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Gesellschaft von Illinois

Herausgegeben von

Dr. Julius Goebel

Professor an der Staatsuniversität von Illinois

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Vorwort.

Für den Inhalt des vorliegenden Jahrbuches ist die heran-
nahende Jahrhundertfeier der Aufnahme von Illinois in den
amerikanischen Staatenverband in erster Linie bestimmend ge-
wesen. Es ist noch wenig bekannt, daß die frühen deutschen An-
siedlungen im Staate Illinois im engsten Zusammenhang stehen
mit dem Plane eines freien deutschen Staatswesens in Amerika,
den Karl Follen, der große Freiheitskämpfer, in den Tagen der
Verzweiflung faßte, als er seine Bemühungen um die deutsche
Einheit scheitern sah. Als ein wesentlicher Beitrag zur Jahr-
hundertfeier des Deutschtums von Illinois darf darum die nach-
stehende Biographie Karl Follens gelten. Sie ist die erste wissen-
schaftliche, auf gründlichstem Quellenstudium beruhende Darstel-
lung des Lebens und Wirkens dieses außerordentlichen Mannes,
in dem wir Deutsch-Amerikaner mit Recht den größten Vorkäm-
pfer deutschen Geistes in Amerika im vergangenen Jahrhundert
sehen. Sein Aufsatz „The Cause of Freedom in our Country“,
der bisher in einer selten gewordenen amerikanischen Zeitschrift
vergraben lag, mutet uns heute noch als zeitgemäß, ja in mancher
Hinsicht geradezu als prophetisch an.

Unter dem Titel „Zur Geschichte der frühesten deutschen An-
siedlungen in Illinois“ sind zwei Aufsätze von Dr. G. E. Engel-
mann und Gustav Körner vereinigt, die uns als zeitgenössische
Berichte, von zwei hervorragenden Männern verfaßt, einen über-
aus klaren Einblick in das deutsche Pionierleben und in die all-
gemeinen Zustände jener Zeit gewähren. Körners Kritik des
berühmten Buches von Gottfried Duden ist um so wertvoller, als
sie heute fast ganz vergessen und verschollen zu sein scheint.

Die Abhandlung über die Geschichte des Deutschtums im
Staate Colorado von Fräulein Mildred S. McArthur erschließt
der deutsch-amerikanischen Geschichte ein neues Gebiet und wird
darum nicht nur in jenem Staate mit Interesse gelesen werden.

J. G.



Karl Follen

KARL FOLLEN.

A BIOGRAPHIC STUDY.

By G. W. SPINDLER, Ph.D., Purdue University, Indiana.

INTRODUCTION.

This Monograph is not only an attempt to rescue from oblivion the memory of the pioneer of Germanic studies in America and of the influence of his work in this direction, but it aims also to present for the first time an authoritative account of his life.

The best existing biography of Follen is that published by his widow in 1842.¹ Valuable as this biography is, it is, however, in no sense a scientific work but rather an attempt of a devoted wife to pay a loving tribute to the character of a noble husband in recording the chief events of his life. Many important sources which throw light upon Follen's European career were at the time still unavailable. The reasons for Follen's antislavery activity were only partly explained and his motives for joining the Unitarian movement were wrongly attributed to the influence of W. E. Channing.

While Gustav Körner and Friedrich Kapp recognize² Follen as one of the most distinguished and influential German-Americans in the first half of the 19th century, they devote only a few pages to his life and his various activities. Friedrich Münch,³ a friend and follower of Follen in the Burschenschaft movement, has contributed some useful information on Follen's connection with this movement, but in several important instances has unfortunately erred; moreover his account of Follen's life in America is based entirely upon Mrs. Follen's work and contains nothing new. Ratter-

¹ Vol. I of Follen's Works.

² Körner, *Das deutsche Element*; Kapp, *Deutsche Rundschau*, Bd 25, 1880.

³ *Gesammelte Schriften*, p. 39ff.

mann's¹ short biography is likewise based wholly upon the same source and presents, therefore, no new information.

The chief German authorities on Follen are Treitschke, Biedermann, Haupt, and Pregizer, all of whom have discussed only his connection with the German liberal movement without any attempt to give an account of his career in the United States. Haupt's work on "Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen" is the most thorough and comprehensive study of Follen as the founder and leader of the Giessen Burschenschaft. In his discussion of Follen's political ideas Pregizer confines himself wholly to Follen's early life without taking into account his later and more mature views. Owing to their limited knowledge of Follen's later life both Treitschke and Pregizer have arrived at certain conclusions which seem to be untenable. In general German historians have hitherto dealt almost exclusively with Follen's early life, regarding him for the most part only as a political radical and revolutionist.

Since the German wars of liberation are beginning at present to be viewed not simply as a struggle against foreign domination but also, and above all, as the first powerful rise of German national feeling, which aimed at national unity,² it seems now to become possible to give a more correct interpretation to Follen's youthful activity. For only against the background of the movement for national independence and from the spiritual forces which at that time exalted the German mind to undreamed of heights can Follen's historical significance be understood. It was the time when the best men of the nation first became conscious that only in their own nationality could that higher humanity of which the great poets and thinkers had dreamed be realized; the time when in the life-and-death grapple with Napoleon the people first became aware of their strength and their rights, and when the German nation, in spite of its political discord, once more experienced, for the first time in centuries, the joy of unity and demanded for the rejuvenated spirit the body of a new

¹ *Gesammelte Werke*, X.

² Lamprecht, *Deutscher Aufstieg*, 1750-1914, p. 28.
Meinecke, *Die deutsche Erhebung von 1814*, p. 10ff.

national state. The impulse toward national regeneration and a sound physical life found expression in the gymnastic endeavors of Jahn, and the national exaltation as a whole seemed to receive its consecration by the awakening of a new religious spirit,—an awakening such as Germany had not experienced since the days of the Reformation.

It will be seen that Follen as a product of the classical period of German literature and philosophy assimilated even in his youth the spiritual forces of his time, and that these not only determined his activity in Europe but also that of his American career. As a representative of these ideals he thus became the forerunner of thousands, who in the '30s and especially in the later '40s followed him to America. It may justly be said that no other nation in the world was so deeply affected by the German patriotic movements of the 19th century as was this country. The period subsequent to Follen's coming is one of the most important also in our national history. It was during this period that the higher intellectual life of the young nation began to emancipate¹ itself from English traditions and to form independent ideals in education, philosophy, and literature. At the same time there was developing within the Union a political conflict, the final outcome of which had to demonstrate whether the high ideals upon which the Republic was founded were to prevail or not. In all these great national movements and struggles Follen and those who followed after him were destined to play an important rôle.

PART ONE.

FOLLEN IN EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

HIS PROPAGANDA FOR GERMAN UNITY.

To trace the rise and growth of German national consciousness, of which Follen became one of the foremost rep-

¹ Channing, *Remarks on National Literature Complete Works*, p. 137.

Barrett, Wendell, *Literary History of America*, p. 295 f.
Higginson, T. W., *Cheerful Yesterdays—Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 79, p. 490.

representatives, even in outline, would in itself be an extensive study. For the present purpose let it suffice to say that the undercurrent of patriotism making itself felt first in the patriotic poetry of Klopstock and in the effects of the deeds of Frederick the Great, then growing broader and deeper at the opening of the 19th century, burst forth into a great surge of patriotic feeling as the Germans watched their national inheritance crumble away beneath the heel of the foreign conqueror. Through the writings of such men as Fichte, Arndt and Jahn, the Germans came to realize that Teutonic civilization could be preserved only by means of national independence and a national state. Fichte's famous "Addresses to the German Nation" marked the transition from cosmopolitanism to patriotism, and in the great national awakening that followed German national unity had its inception.

In the wars of liberation the German people united especially to regain their national independence, but in accordance with the promises of their rulers they expected also a closer union of all the German states and a greater degree of civic freedom as a reward for their patriotic devotion in the hour of national peril. When the victorious German armies returned home they demanded national unity in order to avoid future national calamity and looked forward, consequently, in confident expectation to a new political life. In their attempt to formulate a plan of union only two possibilities presented themselves: either to form a German confederation or to dissolve the existing governments and in their stead found one German state. The patriots naturally demanded the latter plan; most of them favored a limited monarchy while the more liberal-minded were eager for a republic. "But the majority of those who were enthusiastic for one German state and distinctly demanded:

Ein Deutschland nur, nicht dreissig deutsche Länder,
Ein einzig Band statt all der deutschen Bänder!

would have been indignant at the suggestion that this demand expressly implied the dethroning of their ruling princes."¹

¹ Jastrow, *Geschichte des deutschen Einheitstraumes*, 109.

The problem of German unity was one of supreme difficulty, for the international Congress of Vienna was more concerned with the general settlement of European affairs than with the future welfare of Germany, and the diplomats from other countries naturally did not desire a strong, united Germany. But the greatest obstacle to the establishment of a central government was the unwillingness of the German princes to surrender any of their sovereignty. Believing, however, that they ought at least to unite for mutual protection they finally passed an act organizing Germany into a loose confederation of independent states. As an opponent both of national unity and popular sovereignty Metternich, the ruling spirit of the assembly, succeeded also in thwarting the demand for constitutional government. As a result none of the rulers except the Grand Duke of Weimar took any immediate steps to grant their subjects a voice in governmental affairs. The German people had been temperate in their demands, asking merely for a government that would be more in conformity with the existing views of human rights. Bitter and profound was their disappointment when their dream of national unity and civic freedom turned out to be a mere illusion. While the older men with few exceptions seemed to accept the hopeless political situation with a spirit of pessimistic resignation, it is highly significant that the widespread dissatisfaction with the reactionary attitude of the German rulers found its most fervent expression among the younger generation of German patriots. Now that the foreign enemy had been overcome the academic youth, in whom the spirit of Fichte and Schleiermacher still survived, united to promote the welfare of their common country, or as a contemporary has it: "In the academic youth the German nation first became conscious of its unity."¹ By exalting the idea of a common fatherland and by fostering a broad unsectarian spirit in church and state these young patriots hoped to lay the foundation of a new national life. The first attempt² to

¹ Wolfgang Menzel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 119.

² Stern, *Geschichte Europas*, 1815—1871, I, 446.

organize the academic youth into an association on national lines was made at Giessen in 1814. Foremost in this movement was Karl Follen.

Karl Theodor Christian Follen was the second son of Christoph Follenius,¹ advocate and judge at Giessen in Hesse-Darmstadt. He was born on the 4th of September, 1796, at the home of his grandfather in the village of Romrod, whither his mother had gone to escape the turmoil occasioned by the French occupation of Giessen. After his mother's death, when he was only three years old, his brothers and sisters were sent to live with their grand-parents while he remained at home in close companionship with his father, a circumstance which tended on the one hand to increase his natural precocity, on the other to develop in him an unnatural seriousness of character. After several years his father married again, which, along with the return of the other children to the parental roof, supplied the home life necessary to childhood. Under the direction of his devoted stepmother the sensitive, backward boy received his first elementary instruction and was sent to the public schools where he made rapid progress in the common branches. Since he had not been accustomed to the companionship of children he took little interest in the sports and games of his schoolmates; in fact he had little relish for the ordinary pleasures of childhood. As he grew older, however, a close companionship sprang up between him and his elder brother, Adolf, which gradually developed into an intimate and abiding friendship.

While still a mere child Follen began to manifest certain characteristics for which he became distinguished in later years. Whenever his brothers laughed at his little idiosyncracies he would often fly into a fit of uncontrollable anger. This fault he soon resolved to overcome. He was naturally timid and as a result had a great dread of passing the graveyard at night. In order to conquer this weakness he forced himself to go there after dark and to remain until he had

¹ The latinized form of the name was dropped by Follen when he came to America.

overcome his fear.¹ Being easily affected with dizziness when looking from a height, he subdued this weakness by walking daily upon the parapet of a high bridge with his eyes fixed upon the rushing stream beneath, until by perseverance he was able to run backward and forward upon the narrow footing.² Thus by great and constant effort he at last acquired that perfect self-control which was a distinguishing trait of his character. In these early years he began also to manifest that spirit of independent thought and free investigation for which he was noted in after life. He often lay awake at night reflecting over the mysteries of nature and the religious instruction he had received at school, and when he could find no satisfactory answer to some puzzling question would arise and beg his father to satisfy his curiosity. If things were not explained to his satisfaction he formed decided opinions for himself in all matters that seemed ambiguous to his childish mind, accepting what seemed good and rejecting what seemed unreasonable. When he was scarcely twelve years of age he conceived the idea that if everyone should of his own free will make himself an image of Christ it would lay the foundation for a new state of society.³ Thus early did he in a general way formulate a conception of life which, broadened and modified by subsequent study, became the basis of his mature religious and political views.

After passing through the common school he entered the gymnasium where he distinguished himself in all his studies, especially in the ancient and modern languages. Among his teachers none exercised so great an influence on his early development as Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker,⁴ a man imbued

¹ *Works of Charles Follen*, I, 8. In the following pages these works will be referred to simply as *Works*.

² This incident is related by W. H. Channing in *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII, 50f.

³ *Works*, I, 21.

⁴ Welcker was afterwards noted as an archeologist and classical philologist, and became professor of ancient literature at Göttingen where he made the acquaintance of the American students, George Ticknor and Edward Everett, to whom he gave Follen letters of recommendation when the latter left Europe.

with an ardent love of freedom and fatherland. Although the boy's patriotism had, no doubt, already been awakened by conversations with his father on the Napoleonic rule in Germany, it was his teacher who first aroused his interest in political questions and contemporary historical events. Welcker was a true German patriot and sought to inspire his pupils also with a love of fatherland and a hatred of French domination.¹ To this end he interested them first of all in Schiller's patriotic poetry. Thus Schiller became the light and companion of Follen's early days. The thing that impressed Follen most of all, as he states in his lectures² many years later, was the fact that Schiller was a poet of freedom, that he resisted all kinds of unnatural and unreasonable restraints, and that he preached the gospel of freedom in the Kantian sense as synonymous with the moral nature of man. Welcker further inspired his pupils by giving them patriotic themes upon which to write compositions. Two such essays from young Follen's pen in 1811 give evidence of his growing patriotism and his longing for freedom, even at the price of a martyr's death. He expressed himself in this manner:³

"The Germans lack patriotism; in learning they take the lead, but they lack energy. It is the duty of everybody to live and to die for the common weal. Then only can they serve God and the fatherland. It breaks my heart when I see how the worm of tyranny is daily gnawing at the vitals of our ancestral freedom. The stars of hope have set and never will the sweet morning dawn. But living or dead the goal will yet be attained."

In the spring of 1813, when scarcely more than sixteen years of age, young Follen graduated from the Gymnasium and at once began the study of law at the university of Gießen. It was at this time that the growing patriotic movement, such as Germany had never witnessed before, swelled into that great popular uprising against the foreign oppressor. In re-

¹ Haupt, *Karl Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen*, 6.

² *Works*, IV, 388.

³ Haupt, 22.

sponse to the appeal of the king of Prussia to the nation the German youth rushed to arms and with noble enthusiasm went out to battle for their dearest rights. Inspired by Jahn's "Teutsches Volkstum," Fichte's "Reden an die deutsche Nation," Welcker's teachings and example, and especially by Körner's heroic death, Follen with his two brothers joined a student corps of riflemen and entered the struggle for national independence, ready to sacrifice his dearest hopes upon the altar of freedom. At the close of the campaign in 1814 the brothers returned home safely and with new-born ardor Follen again took up his study of jurisprudence and theology at Giessen. Imbued with higher ideals of patriotism and possessed of a more serious view of life as a result of his experiences in the war, his early religious and political ideas now shaped themselves into a system somewhat as follows:¹ All tyranny whatsoever is sinful, for man is and of right ought to be free. Nobody is free who is a slave to his own passions, who fears death, or who does not believe in immortality. Since the end and aim of life is Christlike perfection, that is, perfect freedom, men are in duty bound first to subdue the tyrant in their own breasts and then to oppose all unjust dominion without; in other words, to lead a life of purity, to submit to the law of justice, and to promote universal brotherhood as taught by Christ. Follen began early the practical illustration of this theory by leading a life of strict morality and of devotion to duty, becoming himself a freeman according to his own conception of freedom and consecrating himself, thereby, to his life-work as a reformer. Believing that the adoption of these principles would effect a regeneration of all mankind he now entered upon a course of activity which gradually developed into a systematic propaganda for the political, social, and religious reform of Germany.

HIS PROMOTION OF THE BURSCHENSCHAFT.

Although the German patriots prior to the wars of liberation gave passionate expression to their longings for national unity, the fact must not be overlooked that the object was not

¹ *Works*, I, 21f.

so much the welding of the German states into a strong political whole for the internal welfare of the country as their mutual cooperation for the establishment of national independence. Even after the latter had been attained the political writers of the day had only the haziest notions concerning the problem of national organization.¹ Wishes, hopes, and theories there were in abundance, but community of interests and definite programs were wanting. But the academic youth took a step in advance of their elders by formulating a definite plan of action. In the first place they conceived the idea of reorganizing university life along new lines and of making it thus the model for a larger national life. To this end they began a general movement for the purpose of forming a closer union of all the students, a true Burschenschaft, to supersede the old, established Landsmannschaften, which had hitherto dominated student affairs in the most arbitrary and tyrannical manner. These provincial clubs not only fostered false notions of honor and a system of caste, but preserved also a feeling of localism, a spirit of particularism, which was one of the greatest weaknesses of German life. Ignoring provincial lines and inculcating a larger ideal of association, the new organization on the other hand was to be national in its aims. Taking Fichte, Jahn, Arndt, and Schleiermacher as their examples and leaders, and pledging themselves to lead a life of industry, sobriety, and chastity, these young idealists hoped by means of physical and mental training, by patriotic inspiration and moral elevation to lead the state of the future to the goal of civic freedom and national unity.

This patriotic outburst during the wars of liberation was accompanied by an intense religious fervor. The supremacy of the moral law, strict obedience to the inner voice of duty, as taught by Kant and Fichte, had prepared the way for a new religious life in Germany. The Romanticists had awakened a new interest in Christianity and a deep feeling of mystic piety, while Schleiermacher through his Addresses on Religion aroused a keener realization of man's dependence on God. Through the national disaster the Germans had become

¹ Jastrow, 129f.

more serious and introspective, and consequently more receptive to the new spiritual life that was dawning. Devotion to humanity rather than personal happiness and culture came to be looked upon as the end and aim of existence. To this young generation to be German meant to be religious; hence the patriotism of the Burschenschaft movement went hand in hand with a fervent religious exaltation.

The Burschenschaft movement originated and reached its climax in Giessen and Jena, receiving its most characteristic stamp from the contrast between the general atmosphere of these two universities.¹ The latter had long enjoyed a reputation for its liberal traditions and its romantic, idyllic academic life, while the former was characterized by a spirit of narrow conservatism and noted for the traditionally rough and disorderly conduct of its students. In both universities duels took the place of arguments, and the *Komment*, the self-constituted laws of the *Landsmannschaften*, was arbitrary in the extreme. But in Giessen especially sectional feeling ran high, and the tyranny of the few over the many became almost unbearable; the rowdyism of the students had brought them into numerous conflicts with the laws of the land and this tended also to increase the reactionary attitude both of the ducal and of the university authorities. Such was the status of affairs with which the reformers had to cope in Giessen. In marked contrast therefore to the burschikos character of the Jena movement, that of Giessen took the form of a political propaganda. The heart and soul of this movement was Karl Follen who, bent upon his project for the social and political reform of Germany, inspired his followers to the highest pitch of enthusiasm for his revolutionary program.

Under the influence of Fichte's "Addresses to the German Nation," which advocated a new system of education for the creation of a new national spirit, and hence as a means to national unity, Follen began his propaganda by organizing literary clubs for the promotion of patriotism and science. Largely due to the efforts of himself and his elder brother, Adolf, there was organized in Giessen as early as the autumn

¹ Cf. Braun, *Westermann's Monatshefte*, XXXV, 225.

of 1814 a "Deutsche Lesegesellschaft," in the reading room of which were to be found political newspapers and pamphlets, and in whose meetings the writings of such men as Möser, Schiller, Körner, Arndt, and Fichte were read and discussed.¹ The members of this society adopted the old German garb,—long hair, black velvet coat, and dagger, and under the influence of "Turnvater" Jahn, who had already done so much through his gymnastics to cultivate manliness and patriotic sentiment in the German youth, devoted themselves diligently to physical culture also. But on account of rivalries and jealousies, and especially on account of an attempt by a few of the leaders of the association to abolish the practice of dueling, which had become one of the most baneful customs of student life, the organization was soon broken up. In the following summer, 1815, a small group of the more radical, including the Follen brothers, banded together into a league called the "Germania," with patriotic, moral and scholarly aims. From the color of their academic coats they were dubbed the "Blacks"² by the other students, and on account of their stern morality and opposition to rowdiness soon came into conflict with the Landsmannschaften. Follen and his friends soon became so repugnant to the majority of the Giessen students, as Wesselhöft observes,³ that the latter refused to fraternize with them. Denounced as political conspirators the Blacks were compelled to dissolve this league, but immediately formed a new one under the name of "Deutscher Bildungs- und Freundschaftsverein."⁴ As a condition to entrance into this association the candidate had to be a true Christian, a real German, and a bona fide student. Before the end of the year this society also was obliged to disband, but the persecution by the Landsmannschaften continued and the Blacks had to maintain themselves by frequent duels in

¹ Haupt, 6.

² Ibid., 12. In his *Aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit* Münch erroneously dates the origin of the Blacks at the end of 1816.

³ *Deutsche Jugend in weiland Burschenschaften und Turngemeinden*, 80.

⁴ Haupt, 12.

which Follen took a leading part. Concerning this struggle Follen's widow gives the following account:¹

"He was often challenged and called upon to use his sword against these bullies, but he has told me that he never used it in a purely personal quarrel. He was skillful in the use of the weapon and was so calm and collected that he almost always gained the victory, but never abused it. These duels with the broadsword seldom endangered life, and at that time he thought himself justified in occasionally using this means for the defense of truth and justice. It was one of his great purposes and of the party of which he was a leader to put a check to this evil and dangerous custom; but he thought had he not the courage and power to defend himself by force of arms, he should not have the same influence with his fellow students in urging other and moral means for the settlement of differences; he could not even have remained in the university."

Concerning the aims of these literary clubs Follen himself records the following:² "They were organized partly among students, partly among other young men for reciprocal exchange of views on philosophy, religion, and political subjects, and held together for the most part by the common bond of like ideas,—an ideal friendship whose simple sincerity and fervor is so characteristically German. The members had public opinion on their side through their zeal for science and their strict morality. In their meetings, which often occurred without any previous appointment, the most important truths of religion, ethics, jurisprudence, politics, and especially of scientific subjects were discussed. The sad condition of the fatherland without unity and freedom was discussed also, and some were of the opinion that the ideal national life needed above all a unity of faith for one Christian German Church. Others held that the church is a private society in the state and believed that the latter should have a different form, which according to some should be a limited monarchy, ac-

¹ *Works*, I, 26.

² "Ueber die deutsche Inquisition"—Published in *Johannes Wits Fragmente aus meinem Leben*, III, Sec. 1, 187.

cording to others a republic. Upon these subjects speeches were made and disquisitions written."

Unyielding in his determination to proceed with his original program, Follen continued his efforts to bring the student body into a closer union with a view to establishing a student republic as a model for a larger national organization. In his *History*¹ of the Christian German Burschenschaft Follen wrote as follows concerning the movement in Giessen: "When local divisions and an oppressive system of rank were wasting, by angry collisions, the free powers of individuals and of the whole student body, there arose among the students of Giessen the idea of a Christian-German Republic in which the officers should be on a complete level with all the others, where the will of the whole, obtained by a free, general discussion in assemblies open to all, should rule in the concerns of the students; and where in a close union of all their youthful powers, in their manners and conduct, and in their public sentiment an earnest, patriotic effort, a striving after learning, physical culture, and freedom as citizens should be unfolded. Many students who were spiritually united by the same striving after Christian and national progress went steadily onward to the attainment of this object in friendly union, held together only by a true inward indissoluble bond of conviction."

Under the leadership of Follen the Blacks continued their discussions and consultations in private throughout the year 1816. In a public assembly of the student body in the autumn of that year they offered a set of resolutions to the effect:² That all students should be free and equal among themselves from the day of entrance to the university so long as they conduct themselves honorably; that all associations arrogating to themselves any peculiar power, and opposing thereby the establishing of equality and unity in the university, should be dissolved; that a code of rules for the government of the students and a court for the settlement of all questions

¹ Quoted in part in *Works*, I, 30—50. Haupt and Pregizer give the original title of this history as *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Samtschulen seit dem Freiheitskriege*, 1813.

² "History of the Giessener Burschenschaft,"—*Works*, I, 40.

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of honor should be established; that an assembly of all Christian German students, united in a free student community, should, as the only justly authorized association, exercise all legislative and judicial functions in all student affairs; and that for the purpose of a free, progressive development of student life, a free German Burschen-Commonwealth should be established in each of the German universities.

These propositions were greeted with shouts of approval, but owing to the opposition of the Landsmannschaften and the hostile attitude of the university authorities, who regarded this movement for liberty as dangerous to the established order, nothing was accomplished. Undaunted, however, in their efforts for academic reform, the Blacks sought to establish at least a court of honor for the adjustment of differences among the students. After deliberating among themselves they finally adopted a set of laws under the title of the "Ehrenspiegel." Follen himself drafted most of the statutes and prefaced them with the following lines,¹ which indicate the Christian, republican spirit of the work:

Der Gottheit Blitzstrahl, der aus finst'rer Wolke
Aus dieser Sturmzeit herrlich sich entzündet,
Die Liebe, die uns All' in Gott verbündet,
Als Gottes Stimm' in Menschen, wie im Volke,
Lebendig neu der Menschheit Urbild gründet,
Die durch den Heiland,
Die jetzt und weiland
Uns durch so viel Blutzügen ist verbündet,
Sie gibt das Feuer uns zum kühnen Handeln,
Das Licht, um frei der Wahrheit Bahn zu wandeln.

Among the several principles set up in the Ehrenspiegel it was decreed:²

"That the relation of individual students to each other must be a relation of unconditional equality, without reference to any particular faith, country, or rank arising from age or family connections.

¹ Ibid.,—*Works*, I, 50.

² Ibid.,—*Works*, I, 35ff.

"Honor ennobles at the university, but honor will be rendered to everyone who is animated by a pure zeal for a learned and worthy education, by a holy devotion to the faith and the country to which he, with free conviction, adheres.

"There can be no relation of honor without a relation of justice; consequently every duel is mischievous and sinful if it is ascertained that there is right on one side and injustice on the other, or a misunderstanding on both. But the ascertaining of the right requires a court, and among students it must be a court of arbitration.

"No single department of art or science suffices us, and as little can a single mode of bodily exercise. Only a constant progress towards knowledge and truth, enlarged by friendly communion, united to a social, gymnastic development of all bodily powers, can lead to a free harmony of one being, in parts as in the whole.

"Let the model of a Christian-German Burschenschaft be our perpetual ideal! Let this elevated spirit of union fraternize the whole Burschenschaft into one republic and covenant of honor, which may form itself independently in each university, but yet each one as an image or part of the whole; strong in united action, ruled by a noble morality, springing from free conviction, and enlightened by public sentiment, which constitutes the conscience of this as of every other republic."

Early in 1817 the Ehrenspiegel was submitted to the general student body publicly assembled, but the Landsmannschaften refused to take part in the proceedings. Thereupon about sixty of Follen's adherents pledged themselves to its principles, associating themselves thus into the Christian-German Burschenschaft of Giessen, and invited all other students to join them in their public meetings. To this association Follen dedicated his stirring song of freedom, entitled the "Turnstaat,"¹ which sounds the keynote to his program for civic freedom, for the religious and political unity of Germany.

¹ *Freie Stimmen frischer Jugend*—No. 1.

In consequence of the new organization a violent partisan strife arose. The adherents of the Ehrenspiegel were forthwith excommunicated from the student body by the Landsmannschaften, and all sorts of calumnies were heaped upon them with the object of making them odious to the authorities. They were branded as Jacobins, black bandits, and state traitors, and accused of revolutionary designs against the reigning sovereigns. As a result of these serious charges the university senate instituted an investigation, seeking in every way to discover whether the Blacks were guilty of dangerous political activity. The two important features of this examination were the charges¹ that Follen had sought to found an academic free-state for the training of demagogues and preachers of freedom, and that the Ehrenspiegel was a dangerous, revolutionary document because its declared object was the good of the whole country rather than that of separate provinces. Although the charge against the Blacks of revolutionary aims had in all probability some foundation, the latter were after a long examination declared innocent, but the senate decreed that the Burschenschaft should henceforth be considered a forbidden association. From this time on the Giessen Blacks maintained no outward organization, but through the exertions of Follen the inner bond of sympathy, conviction, and common ideals was cemented between them more strongly than ever. In private they continued their propaganda for union and liberty in academic life.

THE WARTBURG FESTIVAL.

From Giessen and Jena the Burschenschaft movement spread rapidly until it had by this time found footing in sixteen different universities. Black-red-gold was adopted as the emblem and Arndt's well-known song, "Sind wir vereint zur guten Stunde," the hymn of the fraternity. For the twofold purpose of uniting the several Burschenschaften into one general organization and also of commemorating two great national events, the battle of Leipzig and the tercentenary of the

¹ "History of the Giessen Burschenschaft"—*Works*, I, 47f.

Reformation, plans were made for a great student festival at the Wartburg. This movement was set on foot in Jena, but according to Massmann, the historian of the event, the idea of the celebration originated among Follen's circle of Blacks, who had entered into close relations with the Jena Burschen.¹ The principles which the friends of freedom and unity advocated were embodied by the Jena students in a memorial² to be presented at the Wartburg meeting. This document consisted of thirty-five articles, of which the following declarations were the most pertinent:

"Germany is and shall remain a unit. The more the Germans are divided by different states, the more sacred is the duty of every German to strive for the maintenance of unity and fatherland. For this ideal the heroes of 1813 fell, and for this ideal all have fought and will fight. With this in view do we celebrate the 18th of October. Should the Germans forget this ideal they ought again to pass under the foreign yoke. The doctrine that there is a North and a South Germany is false and pernicious and has emanated from an evil spirit; the distinction is merely geographical. There is a North and a South Germany just as there is a right and left side of a man; but the man is one and has one mind and one heart, and Germany is one and shall have one mind and one heart. The doctrine that there is a protestant and a catholic Germany is false and unfortunate and has come from an evil enemy. Whether protestant or catholic, Germans are Germans and belong to one fatherland. Germans are brothers and shall be friends; hence a war between German states would be a crime. If one German state is attacked then all Germany is attacked. In war against a foreign enemy all Germans must unite for common defense; in peace all must unite to preserve

¹ Haupt, 36. According to Leo, *Meine Jugendzeit*, 151, the idea came from Jahn's circle in Berlin.

² Given in full by Herbst, *Ideale und Irrtümer des akademischen Lebens*, 184-205. These principles were discussed at the Wartburg meeting, but the document was not published for several years for fear that it would increase the suspicion against the Burschenschaft, which had been occasioned by the festival.

all that has made Germany great and to promote German nationality.

"Freedom and equality is the highest for which we strive and for which every honorable German can never cease to strive. But there is no freedom and equality except in and through the law. Without law there is no freedom, but dominion, caprice, and despotism; without law there is no equality, but violence, subjection, and slavery. Laws must proceed from those, or be acceptable to those, who must live under them. Through the formation of the German Confederation the princes have recognized that every state is a part of Germany, and that as a part must be subservient to the whole. But they have also recognized that the law and freedom shall not vanish before their sovereignty. The 13th article of the Acts of Confederation contains the solemn promise that caprice shall not rule in any German state. At present the Germans have no greater duty than to speak the truth, and so loud that it shall reach the ears of their rulers. This is incumbent until the 13th article shall go into effect. Free speech shall not be denied. Therefore do we resolve:

"To be true to these principles and propagate them; to be true to science, especially to those sciences which concern the national life, such as ethics, politics, and history; to prevent the division of the nation into factions at the universities; to settle all differences without resorting to duels; to promote gymnastics because this makes men strong for the defense of the fatherland; to call no section but Germany alone our fatherland; to shun all that is foreign."

Follen had, of course, no part in the drafting of this memorial, but the principles involved were the same as those which were being instilled into the hearts and minds of the academic youth throughout Germany, due in large measure to his influence as leader of the Giessen movement; hence this brief allusion to the Wartburg meeting seems pertinent to the general discussion.

On the appointed day over four hundred students from twelve universities assembled on the market place in Eisenach and then formed a line of march to the Wartburg where, in

the great Rittersaal, the exercises were held. After singing "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott" one of the Jena Burschenschaft, who had won the iron-cross at Waterloo, made the main address, eulogizing the great deeds of Luther and Blücher, and exhorting his comrades through memory of the past to dedicate themselves to the holy cause of freedom and union. After the banquet, in which toasts were proposed in honor of Luther, the Grand Duke of Weimar, and the heroes of the war, the Burschen attended divine services in a body and then betook themselves in torchlight procession to the top of the Wartenberg where in a glare of bonfires the day closed with patriotic speeches and songs. Unfortunately, however, some of the more ardent spirits thought the occasion fitting for a demonstration, half serious, half farcical, against the reactionary tendency of the German governments. After the final proceedings several unpopular reactionary writings¹ were committed to the flames in imitation of Luther's burning of the papal bull. This was merely a harmless, juvenile escapade without premeditated malice, but the effect it produced upon the country was out of all proportion to its insignificance as we shall presently see. The second day was devoted to the discussion of the Burschenschaft organization. In these deliberations there arose again a sharp clash between the members of the Burschenschaften and Landsmannschaften, especially between the delegates of the two Giessen organizations. These differences were finally settled, all parties agreeing to the establishment of a general Burschenschaft.

Follen himself was unable to attend the festival, but with a few friends commemorated the event by partaking of the Lord's Supper, pledging themselves anew in this solemn way to a life of self-sacrificing devotion to the welfare of the country.

The Wartburg festival was the first great national demonstration against the weakness of the German Confederation and the first public expression of the necessity of a change in

¹ According to Wesselhöft, 16, and Leo, 102, the works themselves were not burned, but a number of old books provided by Massmann and his friends.

political affairs. It has become a famous historical episode not because of anything culpable in the enthusiastic boyish proceedings, but because of the effect that the spirit of the **affair** had upon the sovereigns of Europe. In some of the speeches it had indeed been declared that the rulers had not kept their promises to the people, but with the exception of the unfortunate act which marred the close of the first festal day the whole official program was carried out with dignity and moderation. On receipt of greatly exaggerated reports of what had occurred the Austrian and Prussian governments condemned the liberalism of the Grand Duke of Weimar and sent envoys to the "big Bursche," who after an investigation failed to find that the students had committed any grave offense. There was a current report that the Acts of Confederation of the German states were among the books supposed to have been burned, and in this Metternich saw a wide-spread conspiracy. The King of Prussia, too, became so alarmed that he ordered all clubs and associations in the Prussian universities to be dissolved and threatened to close these institutions rather than allow them to become centers of revolutionary intrigue.

In spite of this reactionary attitude the deliberations begun at the Wartburg were continued the following year in two conventions at Jena, resulting in the establishment of the "Allgemeine deutsche Burschenschaft." The purpose of this organization was, in a word, the unity, liberty, and equality of all German students as the first step to the unity of the German people, and the Christian German cultivation of every physical and spiritual power for the service of the fatherland. In tranquility, order, and respect for law student life began to show a marked improvement under the influence of this new order of things.¹ The picture of an ordinary Burschen meeting in Jena, as sketched by the Scotch traveler, John Russell,² shows a spirit which was typical of the Burschenschaft in all the other universities: "Every man, with his bonnet on his

¹ Rechtlieb Zeitgeist, *Demagogische Umtriebe*, II, 539.

² *A Tour in Germany*, I, 111.

head, a pot of beer in his hand, a pipe or segar in his mouth, and a song on his lips, never doubting but that he and his companions are training themselves to be regenerators of Europe, that they are the true representatives of the manliness and independence of the German character, and the only models of a free, generous, and high-minded youth. They lay their hands upon their jugs and vow the liberation of Germany; they stop a second pipe or light a second segar and swear that the Holy Alliance is an unclean thing."

The Burschenschaft not only served to restore and propagate the patriotic spirit, but became a symbol of the dignity and import of national life. This was an important step in raising the barriers of particularism, which had kept the Germans separated and had stood in the way of national development. Through the Burschenschaft the academic youth had before their eyes, on a small scale, the image of a larger national life; through it they began to take an interest in political problems and to prepare themselves thereby for the future political tasks of patriotic German citizens. Through this study they gained a larger conception of nationality and came to realize more fully that only by united action and consecration to common ideals could Teutonic civilization endure. Although the movement did not lead to any direct results the training which it had given in science and politics was not lost, for theoretically it had solved the problem. When these young patriots saw that national unity could not be attained at once they turned to the second part of their program, the establishment of constitutional freedom in the individual states as a means to the ultimate goal of their political ideal. Foremost in this movement for constitutional government was Karl Follen. The impressions which this struggle made upon the minds of these young men and the experience which it gave them remained with them for life; hence the Burschenschaft may be considered as a nursery in which were reared the leaders of the liberal movement of 1848, and in which was fostered the spirit that was absolutely necessary to make possible the establishment of the German Empire.

HIS REPUBLICANISM.

As a child Follen already displayed an intensely religious nature, a great reverence for the character of Christ, and a highly developed will to moral action. These characteristics not only account for his youthful Utopian scheme for the reformation of society, but form the psychological basis of his mature political views.

As already indicated, he had become interested in political questions prior to 1815, but not until after the Congress of Vienna did he enter the arena of political activity. This step was due in part to the failure of the German rulers to redeem their promise of constitutional government, and partly to the teachings of Gottlieb Welcker, whom the reactionary policy of the Metternich regime had driven into the ranks of the Republicans. As an instructor Welcker was very popular with the Giessen students, and at the request of the Blacks delivered a series of lectures on the great questions of the day during the winter of 1815-'16. His discussion of religion, morality, education, and public opinion were similar in their tendency to Fichte's Addresses and made a deep impression upon the members of Follen's circle.¹ He demanded constitutional government and declared that the social structure of Europe rested upon the estates, that the mystical idea of princely power was baneful in its effects, and that a neglect of duty on the part of the rulers would turn the nation toward republicanism.

That Follen was from this time growing dissatisfied with monarchic government and drifting rapidly toward republicanism is evident first of all by his effort to reorganize student life along democratic lines, upon the basis of freedom and equality. In his patriotic and revolutionary poetry, especially in the "Great Song," he brands the rulers as tyrants, traitors, and priests of Moloch, complains bitterly of the oppression of the people, and appeals to the latter to rise in their might against their oppressors and to organize a free-state. In his

¹ Haupt, 18.

political essays,¹ "Ueber die deutsche Inquisition" and "Ueber die revolutionäre Stimmung Deutschlands," he turns from his invective against individuals to the monarchic form of government itself as the evil to be opposed. He declares that the tyranny within is more odious than foreign domination, that instead of German unity there is only national dismemberment, instead of freedom only oppression and burdens, "suppression of intellectual freedom, embargoes on commerce, tolls, oppressive taxation, standing armies, high-handed justice, suppression of the freedom of the press, and capricious measures of all sorts."² He criticizes the Confederation because "without the cooperation of the people it put the supreme authority in the hands of an assembly of princely delegates, who are bound by the instructions of their governments, whereby the sovereigns of the several states as such are strengthened."³ He objects to a government in which "the executive power assumes also the legislative and judicial functions,"⁴ and denounces monarchism, "which like an evil worm is gnawing at every branch of political and civil life."⁵ He further declares that "Germany has reached a state of civilization in which the history of the people is no longer identical with that of the governments; the decrees of the latter, even when made in opposition to public opinion, have no significance unless they are determined by it since real political self-activity exists only in the people."⁶ And finally he states his position clearly when he says: "The different rulers have combined to uphold the monarchic principle and have thereby challenged all those who have hitherto sought a constitutional monarchy not to meet them half way, but to set principle over

¹ Written in 1819; extant in Wit's *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 174-200.

² Wit's *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 197.

³ Ibid., 198.

⁴ Ibid., 192.

⁵ Ibid., 182.

⁶ Ibid., 194.

against principle, that is, to substitute republicanism for monarchism."¹

Follen's theories concerning the nature of the state were based upon the axiom of the French Revolution, that all men are free and equal. To the writings of Rousseau and especially of Fichte was due to a great extent his conversion to the principles of republican government. The main doctrines of these two writers concerning the nature of the civil state may, therefore, be briefly summed up as follows:

Rousseau,² it will be remembered believed that men enjoyed complete liberty and equality in the state of nature, which he considered as the golden age of mankind, and that the transition from the natural to the civil state was made by a social contract, entered into by individuals, who ceded their natural rights to a sovereign in return for certain civil rights. In the state of nature each individual was a sovereign in his own right, while the sovereignty resulting from the social contract is synonymous with the general will. Since sovereignty is, therefore, composed of the people as a whole it is absolute, inalienable, indivisible, and the source of all law. Rulers are merely agents without independent authority, chosen only to execute the general will.

In his early political writings³ Fichte expressed the warmest enthusiasm for the French Revolution, admitting thereby his inclination toward republican principles. Rousseau accepts the original contracts as the basis of civil rights as a historical fact, while Fichte considers it merely as a theoretical foundation for civic association. According to Fichte's doctrine man has in the political state two kinds of rights, alienable and inalienable. The former have reference to modes of action which are permitted, but not enjoined, by the moral law. The most comprehensive of the latter is that of ethical

¹ Ibid., 199f.

² Cf. *Social Contract*, Bk. I, Chap. 6.

³ These were two anonymous tracts: *Zurückforderung der Denkfreiheit von den Fürsten Europas* and *Beiträge zur Berichtigung der Urtheile des Publikums über die französische Revolution*—published in 1799. *Sämmtliche Werke*, VI.

freedom, including the right to free expression of opinion and to free communication of thought, for without such freedom no spiritual development is possible. The right to develop toward perfection, toward moral freedom, is then according to Fichte the fundamental principle upon which the state is founded. In substance this is a statement of the Social Contract in terms of Kant's ethical system. As Fichte viewed it, the state is an instrument for protecting and regulating man's right to property and to the free development of his moral nature.

With the exception of Rousseau, who looked into the past for the golden age of mankind, the dominant belief of thinking men in the last half of the 18th century was an abiding faith in the possibility of unlimited human progress. Follen seems to have accepted both views: With Rousseau he saw a state of human perfection in the past, but regarded the age in which he lived as utterly bad, and with Fichte his highest aim was to realize an ideal state of man in the future. In the past he saw human perfection embodied in Christ and set up this ideal as a model for the future, maintaining with Fichte that civic organization is for no other purpose than to aid humanity to develop toward a perfect life. "On the battlefield of Leipzig," he writes,¹ "there awoke a spirit which strives and will strive until all is accomplished, till in the people the ideal of humanity is glorified." With Rousseau he maintains that men are born free and equal, with certain inalienable rights; with Fichte that the destiny of man is free development toward divine perfection. It is these general principles that lie at the foundation of his political ideas.

The theories which Follen formulated at this time concerning the civil state were in later years embodied in his lectures on moral philosophy,² and from this source his whole

¹ The Giessen Burschenschaft—*Works*, I, 30.

² *Works*, III, Chap. 14. In his *Politische Ideen des Karl Follen* Pregizer seems not to have used this source, but instead relies on the political essay in Wit's *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 331-344, which he attributes to Follen. In *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, p. 207, Wit claims to be the author of this essay, which purports to be an exposition of the political creed of Follen's Blacks. The fact that some of the statements in the

course of reasoning can be traced more in detail. According to his views every human being possesses by nature personal rights, which constitute him the absolute master of his own faculties of body and mind; the right to property; and social rights, which entitle him to enter into all kinds of relations with his fellow men. Only through the free exercise of these rights, he maintains, and by a thorough system of education can mankind develop toward infinite perfection. In order to develop freely it is necessary for every individual to conduct himself in a manner conducive to his own welfare and to that of others. But who is to formulate correct rules of civic conduct? It is evident, Follen replies, that since there is no exterior standard of truth and right; since there is no certainty that one person's opinion is better than that of his neighbor, men must come to this conclusion whenever their opinions disagree as to what is right and what are the most effective means of carrying it out, that many eyes generally see better and many arms hold faster than two. Who then shall be the rulers? The wealthiest, the wisest and best, or those who descend from certain families? It is self-evident that wisdom and goodness cannot be bought, nor is it certain that they are inherited; and as to the wisest and best, the question remains undecided who they are. Consequently the only measure of right which remains is the majority of opinions, a fallible standard, it is true, but the highest to be obtained. The majority have, therefore, according to Follen, a natural right to establish and enforce their views as a law over all, chiefly for two reasons: In the first place, whenever there is no standard of truth that of probability must decide, and according to this principle that opinion of right which satisfies most minds must be presumed to be the most correct view obtainable at the time. In the second place, in order to make a minority rule over a majority the equality of rights must be violated by giving to certain individuals, singled out in some way or other, greater freedom than the rest, whereas every individual may at any

essay are identical with those in the lectures on moral philosophy shows plainly that it contains many of Follen's ideas even if it was not written by him.

time be in the majority without any special distinction. The main object of the state is then, according to Follen's view, the establishment of justice; and the principle means of realizing this purpose consists in a common legislation, by which the community declares what it considers the right rule of conduct, and a common administration, by which the decrees of the legislature are carried into effect. In the execution of these decrees force may be used only to compel the individual to do that which is necessary to the general welfare and to restrain him from doing that which is injurious to his fellow men.

It must not be supposed, Follen argues, that any one gives up his natural rights in becoming a member of the civil association, for if this were possible there is no one to whom he could resign them. He denies also the assertion of those who claim that the state itself, or the government, is a personality distinct from the individuals who are its subjects. Such personalities exist only in the imagination of certain priests of the law, who have peopled the civil world with a host of fabulous characters. What then is the state? It is an association of men, he replies, for no other purpose than to exercise their natural rights more fully and securely in common than each of them could do by himself; to unite their intellectual powers in order to ascertain that which is right, and their physical strength to carry this into effect. "A commonwealth, a republic," he explains, "is the only state worthy of man—not because it makes him better or happier, but because it is the most responsible condition of man in society and consequently most truly a moral state, in which every action, good or bad, must be ascribed to the whole people."¹

Like Fichte Follen, too, believed that the second function of the state is the establishment of a thorough system of education to unfold and strengthen and refine the faculties of men;

¹ *Works*, III, 282. Follen seems to have in mind the ideal state described by Schiller in his *Aesthetic Letters*. According to Schiller the ideal state is the reflex of the united characters of its citizens: citizens whose characters are formed in accordance with the new ethical standards set up by Kant.

to aid them in the onward march toward perfection.¹ "Domestic and public education," he says, "are the two great elements which must operate in the development of man. Without domestic education man becomes a creature of the state, as in Sparta; whereas the state was made for man, and not man for the state. Without public education man hardly ever rises above the finite circle of knowledge and virtue, or the settled prejudices and selfish designs of his own family. He indeed loses his highest domestic privileges,—which is to think and feel and act as one of the great family of men."² The state has other important functions also, he adds, such as the promotion of religion, science, art, and commerce, but it should not engage in any of these pursuits.

From the foregoing it is evident that Follen was thoroughly imbued with the principles of democracy. The reactionary attitude of the German rulers caused him to repudiate monarchism completely and to demand a republican form of government based upon the principles of the freedom and equality of all. The main function of the state, as he conceives it, is to protect the liberty of all against the caprices of the individual, whereas in a monarchic form of society the will of the people is subservient to the caprice of the rulers.³ This contradiction, he believed, not only justified but also demanded a revolution.

As indicated at the outset, Follen's republicanism was in a large measure due to his Christian faith, to his belief in human equality and in the dignity and immortality of the

¹ In his *Addresses* Fichte developed two general lines of thought: first, he discusses that element of German character which was to form the basis of the new national state; second, the means through which this was to be attained. In the original character, plasticity, and pictorial power of its language; in its philosophical and poetic bent of mind; in its religious depths and warmth; as well as in its pure unmixed blood the Teutonic race bears, according to his view, the stamp of genius; and in this free, original German spirit lies the possibility of a noble ethical life if it is left free to develop and is promoted by the new Pestalozzian system of education and by a union of all individuals in the service of one common end.

² *Works*, III, 291.

³ *Wit's Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 207.

human soul. "If men believed in the immortality of their souls," he declares,¹ "there would be no slavery in this world, for all unjust pretensions and cruel distinctions among men, every proud elevation and servile humiliation, must fall before the acknowledged equality of immortal spirits." The life and teachings of Christ were his standard and guide in politics and government. These principles were with him a living reality; he never wavered from them nor neglected any opportunity to advocate and to promote them.

From his Addresses to the German Nation it is evident that Fichte desired national unity in a republican form of government;² but after all it was spiritual rather than political unity that seemed to him of the most value. Spiritual unity for moral development, he believed, would lead to perfect democracy, and the government best adapted to attain this end, whether republic or monarchy, should be adopted.³ Like Fichte Follen, too, considered the state as an organization for realizing the moral end of humanity,—a state of society ruled by brotherly love and held together in Christian unity. Like Fichte Follen believed that the ideal was to be realized by the German people through the German state, and in this he was thoroughly patriotic; but his patriotism like that⁴ of Fichte was strongly cosmopolitan, for like him he was an idealist and his thinking tended toward the universal. But unlike Fichte Follen demanded for the attainment of this end a political national unity under republican government and set himself to the task of realizing this demand. Fichte speaks of the disadvantages⁵ of a politically divided Germany and admits also that the totality of German life is enriched by the provincial

¹ Follen's Sermons, *Works*, II, 6f.

² Cf. Ninth Address. In the Sixth Address Fichte states expressly that Germany is the only modern European nation that has proved itself worthy of realizing republican government.

³ Meinecke, *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat*, 111f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 92f.

⁵ Cf. Ninth and Eleventh Addresses.

culture peculiar to each state,¹ but he demands only a national spirit rather than a national state. Follen on the other hand was convinced that the greatest hindrance to the progressive development of the Teutonic race was provincial patriotism and the spirit of particularism, and believed this obstacle could be removed only by the subversion of the various monarchic states and by uniting the people under one allegiance in a German republic.

As a preliminary step to this end the Follen brothers and their circle of political friends outlined during the winter of 1817-'18 a plan for a national constitution based upon republican principles; it consisted of 34 articles² and was in a general way modeled after that of the French republic. That the attainment of German unity is the object in view is evident from the first three articles, which read as follows:

"Germans are one people, that is, men of like mental and physical make-up; in addition to that, of similar language, historical traditions, and religious faith; to the Germans belong: the Swiss, Alsatians, Friesians, etc.

"In addition to this complete similarity of the Germans are subordinate social differences: specific physical and mental traits and developments, such as dialects, tribal history, etc. For the preservation and progressive development of these national characteristics the various branches of the race are closely united forever into one whole: the German Empire. For the preservation and development of these differences, which are nurtured merely as an aid to unity, the country shall be divided into imperial provinces.³

"The empire is to be a union of all Germans so that in it and through it the progressive development of humanity shall

¹ Cf. Ninth Address.

² Given in full by Jarcke, *Carl Ludwig Sand und sein an Kotzebue verübter Mord*, 88ff.

³ Believing that a greater leveling should take place Follen introduced here a radical amendment: "After further deliberations the empire shall be divided into districts without any regard to racial lines; these shall be done away with and the divisions made according to population and natural boundaries in order to simplify the administration of the government."

be realized, for Germans see in their nation their human ideal, in their fatherland their whole world."

This new free-state which Follen hoped to establish was to be, according to this constitution, Christian in character; was to realize national unity and cultivate German individuality. All power was to be placed in the hands of the people, with equal suffrage and majority rule. The state was to be divided into districts containing approximately an equal number of people and named after mountains, rivers, and great national events. This was intended to promote a closer national unity than divisions on lines according to Prussians, Saxons, Hessians, etc. The capitol was to be located in the center of the state and called "Aller Deutschen." The legislature was to consist of representatives chosen from the several districts, and these officials were to choose from their number a chairman, who should receive no special rank, title, or salary. All government officials were to receive equal compensation and to hold office simply as representatives of the sovereign people. Especial emphasis was to be laid upon the regulation of religion and education. There was to be only one German church with no other confession of faith than the teachings of Christ. The schools were to give special attention to agriculture and vocational training.

HIS REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA.

After the disbanding of the Giessen Burschenschaft in the summer of 1817 Follen's enthusiastic Teutonism developed rapidly into extreme political radicalism; and as the reactionary policy of the German rulers increased in severity after the Wartburg affair his cherished plans of political reform by peaceful, educational means seemed to be doomed, but with great tenacity of purpose he continued his propaganda on the athletic field and in private meetings, unfolding to his faithful Blacks his plans of action.

Believing that monarchic government not only was dwarfing the life of the individual but would also prevent the German nation from realizing its high destiny he proposed, there-

fore, to remedy this intolerable condition of German life by founding a Christian-German republic. With Rousseau he held that when a ruler usurps power to oppress the sovereign people the social contract is broken. This doctrine of popular sovereignty and of government by assent contained at once the condition and justification of a political revolution. Like Fichte he held that the state is founded upon the inherent right to moral development; but since the conditions necessary to this are constantly changing it follows that the original contract cannot be final, that constitutional forms must therefore be changed; hence the right to state reform, to revolution. His political writings abound in this doctrine, typical of which is the following statement attributed to him by Wit:¹ "The state commits treason when it acts contrary to its fundamental purpose, when it no longer protects the general freedom of all against the caprice of the monarch, but shirks its duties and assumes greater prerogatives. When this treason is committed against God and man then every individual takes a defensive attitude and a state of revolution exists."

Follen sought to justify the right to revolution not only from the standpoint of political science, but also on ethical grounds. "The purpose of human existence," says Fichte,² "is always to act freely according to reason," and in this Follen freely concurred both in theory and practice. He believed that everything which reason recognizes as good and beautiful and true may be realized by moral effort. Likewise in government: the state must be ordered according to the reason of its members; if it prevents its citizens from acting according to reason or conscience it must be overthrown.³ The basis of Follen's system was, that everybody is in duty bound to convince himself through reason that he is right and then to follow his conviction without reference to the consequences to himself; he recognized no higher law than his own free

¹ *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 173.

² "Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters," *Sämtliche Werke*, VII, 64.

³ Wesselhöft, 70.

conviction. "If you are convinced," according to his argument,¹ "that your opinion is true you must seek to realize this truth; the means must not be considered when it is a question of a moral necessity. A moral necessity is not an aim, and the means to its attainment are of no import." The realization of freedom and equality through republican government was of course the object of Follen's propaganda; hence unconditional striving toward this object was the creed of his political circle.

From the foregoing Follen seems to have accepted the Jesuitical doctrine, that for the realization of a just end any means are justified even if they do run counter to accepted standards of morality. In the proceedings instituted against him later he stoutly denied that he held such doctrines, but this charge against him seems to have been sustained notwithstanding.² Concerning this question Wit³ spoke as follows when he was still friendly to Follen: "We never directly avowed the principle, as the Prussian Minister, Bernstorff, accuses us in his circular letter, that the end sanctifies the means, but we were firmly convinced that if a Christian does anything in full conviction that he is acting for the welfare of the fatherland he is always in the right." Friedrich Münch observes⁴ that as nearly as he can recollect Follen expressed himself thus: 'There are few men who under certain circumstances would not tell a fib, but on account of a certain awe, which is after all nothing but cowardice, refrain from bare-faced lying for a great principle. They would not hesitate to defend themselves against a highway robber by shooting him down, but they are afraid to draw the dagger against the great robbers and murderers of popular freedom. If men were only consistent all of us would have been free long ago.'

That Follen advocated political assassination as a means of subverting monarchic government cannot be denied. In incendiary pamphlets and songs current among the Giessen

¹ Ibid., 88.

² Cf. Pregizer, 67.

³ *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 172.

⁴ "Aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit," *Gesammelte Schriften*, 59.

Blacks, and especially in the Great Song¹ written in part at least by Follen, this doctrine was expressed in such uncanny verses as the following:

Freiheitsmesser gezückt!
Hurrah! den Dolch durch die Kehle gedrückt!
Mit Purpurgewändern,
Mit Kronen und Bändern
Zum Rachealtar steht das Opfer geschmückt!

'It is cowardly,' he declared, to quote again from Münch's dim recollection,² 'to speak of obtaining liberty through legitimate means, because nobody has the right to keep liberty from us; we must gain it through every means offered to us. The tyrants know how to protect themselves against legal acts, therefore they must learn to tremble before our daggers. Whoever resorts to these measures in the full conviction that he is sacrificing all that is dear to him for the welfare of the fatherland is morally all the nobler the harder he finds it to overcome his natural aversion to such deeds.' When he was asked by Wesselhöft³ whether he thought he could put his system into practice without the shedding of blood and whether his feelings did not revolt against the destruction of men, who were probably good and just, merely because they ventured to think differently from him, he replied calmly: "No. If matters come to the worst all who are wavering in their opinions must be sacrificed; this is not a matter of feeling, but of necessity."

Follen's extreme political radicalism was only the result of his ardent patriotism developed to the point of fanaticism. So deeply concerned was he for the welfare of the nation that he advocated the employment of force for the attainment of political conditions that would foster and develop the genius

¹ Given in full in Wit's *Fragmente*, I, 430-448; extant also in Follen's *Works*, I, 585-593, but with some of the more radical passages omitted.

² *Gesammelte Schriften*, 49.

³ *Deutsche Jugend*, 88.

of the Teutonic race. According to Fichte¹ mankind must be forcibly constrained to follow the upward path toward moral perfection; but since force employed in its own interests is tyranny it is the first duty of a ruling prince to educate the people toward freedom. In answer to the question whether the German rulers will do this, he replies that they are still too narrow to give up their own personal interests, and too selfish to sacrifice themselves to the larger ideals of Teutonic civilization, hence there should be one powerful leader to forcibly unite the German nation for the development of its great latent possibilities. When one considers then that even Fichte advocated a "Zwingherr zur Deutschheit" it is evident that he and Follen had in mind the same means to the same end, but differed only in their method of procedure.

Fully convinced that the abolition of tyranny was a moral necessity Follen used all of his eloquence and persuasion to convert his friends to his belief. He was a powerful athlete, a keen, logical thinker, and an impassioned speaker. Along with his love of liberty and his deep religious mysticism he possessed a highly developed self-confidence and an indomitable will, which could brook no opposition. Through these qualities of body and mind he completely dominated the hearts and minds of his companions, exerting upon them an almost irresistible influence. Those who listened to his arguments felt as if they were standing on the brink of a bottomless abyss and were ordered to plunge into its depth. Wesselhöft² observes that he exercised over his followers a control that was very galling to many of them, that the superiority of his mind and acquirements deterred even the strongest from adopting any independent choice of opinion or of following any original course of action, and that he possessed so great an acuteness and strength of intellect that few of his friends could detect the fantastic foundations of his youthful philosophy. Although it seemed impossible to evade his logic some of the Blacks, nevertheless, revolted against his maxim that tyranni-

¹ Cf. "Entwurf zu einer politischen Schrift, im Frühling 1813"—*Sämtliche Werke*, VII, 564f.

² *Deutsche Jugend*, 80.

cide is permissible in the service of freedom. In opposition to these "Moderates," as they were called, Follen arrayed his most devoted adherents under the name of the "Unconditionals," who adopted as their slogan, to quote Münch¹ again, the original ending of the so-called Great Song:

Nieder mit Kronen, Thronen, Frohnen, Drohnen und Baronen!
Sturm!

In order to organize his propaganda more thoroughly,² Follen planned a solemn Lord's Supper, at which the Unconditionals were to be united in an indissoluble covenant of "death brethren," consecrated to the holy cause of freedom. Owing to the alertness of the university authorities this project had to be abandoned, but its purpose was attained by a wide circulation of the revolutionary Great Song. It must not be supposed, however, that these incendiary songs and speeches were heard in public, but rather in the privacy of student lodgings and even in the depth of the forest under cover of darkness.

In the spring of 1818 Follen graduated from the university of Giessen as Doctor of both Civil and Canonical Law. He then began to lecture on jurisprudence in his alma mater and to practice law in the court over which his father presided as judge. In the midst of these labors he not only busied himself with his political propaganda, but found time also for the study of philosophy, especially the writings of Spinoza, the English Deists, and the French Encyclopædists, from which he emerged with his religious and philosophical views clarified and to some extent formulated into a definite system.

As a preliminary step to his ultimate aim he had planned as early as 1817 a campaign for the introduction of constitutional government into the several German states and he now set the movement on foot in his own land by drafting the first of that flood of petitions which afterwards induced the Hessian government to grant, at least in appearance, a representative constitution.³ Through the notoriety thus gained and

¹ *Gesammelte Schriften*, 51.

² *Ibid.*, 54.

³ *Haupt*, 115f.

through his reputation as a skillful lawyer he was called upon to conduct the cause of the municipalities of Hesse against an arbitrary attempt of the ducal government to deprive them of their last remnant of political liberty.¹ For the sake of personal gain some of the counselors of the Grand Duke had prevailed upon the latter to establish a commission to administer the finances of the several communities. Seeing in this the destruction of their credit and independence, the latter united in sending to the government their earnest remonstrances, but this union was at once declared seditious and any lawyer who should dare to aid them was threatened with the loss of his office. Undaunted by this threat Follen responded to the appeal for aid and drew up a memorial setting forth the injustice of the decree both in regard to general principles and to the law of the land. This was presented directly to the Grand Duke before the commission could take preventive measures, and public opinion was so strong against the flagrant injustice of the decree that it was rescinded and the members of the commission removed from office. His successful prosecution of this just cause and his active participation in the growing movement for constitutional government laid the foundation of his ultimate ruin in his native land. Denounced by his enemies as a dangerous political agitator, he was from that time on the object of unrelenting persecution.

With little hope for a successful career at Giessen under the existing political conditions, Follen severed his connection with the university, and upon invitation of Professor Fries went to Jena in October, 1818, where he began a course of lectures on Roman law. From this more favorable location where his republican doctrine had already² gained a footing through the efforts of his friend, von Buri, he hoped to extend his influence to Berlin as a means of winning recruits for his propaganda. It seems that he and his brother had in mind about this time the fantastic idea³ of calling a great mass-

¹ *Works*, I, 60ff.; Wit, III, Sec. 1, 169.

² Haupt, 126.

³ Münch, 17; Braun, *Westermann's Monatshefte*, XXXV, 260.

meeting on the battle-field of Leipzig to proclaim the republic. The people were to be armed for the abolition of royalty, and then a parliament was to be convened to adopt the constitution which he and his Blacks had already drafted for the new government, but no attempt was made to carry out this scheme. From the outset he made a favorable impression upon the Jena students and his success as a teacher soon won him admission to the highest circles of society. Robert Wesselhöft, who was at that time considered as one of the leaders of the Jena Burschenschaft, describes his first meeting with Follen as follows:¹

"He received us like old friends, with the simple familiar 'du.' He was candid, kind, and confiding, but there was in his whole appearance and bearing, in the tone of his voice, in his gestures and glances, something so noble, such calmness and strength, such determination and almost proud earnestness,—a something peculiar to himself, which imperceptibly inspired all who came in contact with him with a deep feeling of respect. He had a broad but delicately formed forehead; a well-shaped nose; deep, soulful eyes; a red, medium-sized mouth; a fair, rosy complexion; heavy, light-colored whiskers; and smooth, blonde hair, which was parted in the middle of his forehead and hung around his neck in wavy locks. Picture this head on a sound, powerful, well-formed body of middle stature, and clothe the figure in a blue German student's coat trimmed with pearl buttons, and you will have before you the image of Karl Follen. I can assure you that we have nowhere met his equal nor anybody who could be compared with him for purity and chastity of manners and morals. He seemed to concentrate all his energies upon one great aim,—the revolution. The death of the enemy and the freedom of the human mind not only lay at his heart, and his heart on his tongue, but his powerful fist might be seen convulsively clenched whenever he heard the clank of fetters and chains."

Finding the Jena Burschenschaft too tame and philistine to suit his high ideals, Follen united a few of the more radically

¹ *Teutsche Jugend*, 65.

inclined into a club¹ for discussing the practical working of his philosophical and political ideas. Especially was the question debated, as Follen himself notes,² whether an outer code of morals is necessary, or whether man's most inner conviction alone can justify and condemn him before God; further, whether there are rights which one can claim under all circumstances and never renounce. Follen sought to win his new friends over to his doctrine of conviction, unconditionality, and republicanism, as he had done in Giessen, but although they seemed to yield to his bold conceptions they could not so readily adopt them. Under the guidance of the most learned and broad-minded men in all the different professions the Jena students had acquired the habit of strict criticism and independent philosophical thought. Although they cherished the deepest respect for Follen's sincerity and self-conviction, as Wesselhöft records,³ they felt that he was wrong and sought to convert him through the aid of Fries, their professor of philosophy. To effect this the whole club gathered weekly around the latter and discussed the subject warmly.⁴ Fries and Follen each had his own system and neither could convert the other, but their adherents gained much valuable knowledge and arrived at decided opinions of their own. The question of conviction and the manner of making it of practical value in life was often discussed. Fries made a distinction between conviction arrived at from the conscience and that arrived at from scientific study, that is, the conviction of the masses cannot be taken as a guide unless supported by the conclusions of scholars; further, that conviction must not lead to action by unlawful, violent deeds. This was of course directly opposed to Follen's democratic conception of popular conviction and to his doctrine of unconditionality. Since Fries was prevented after a short time from attending the meetings the club was

¹ Leo, 176.

² "Ueber die deutsche Inquisition"—Wit's *Fragmente*, III, Sec. 1, 187.

³ *Teutsche Jugend*, 87ff.

⁴ *Works*, I, 186; Leo, 187; Pregizer, 64.

left alone under Follen's influence, but when the latter tried to force his views upon all, maintaining that cowardice and weakness alone prevented their adoption and application as the rule of life, a decisive rupture took place. The club suddenly broke up in March, 1819, leaving Follen with a few followers. He saw that much labor was yet necessary on his part to raise even the most cultivated and susceptible youth to his high ideals, and realized, doubtless, that his object could be more easily attained by gradually habituating others to his views than by violently opposing himself to the spirit then prevalent in Jena. An event occurred, however, which not only completed the ruin of his prospects, but served to stifle the liberal aspirations of the German youth as well.

On March 23rd, 1819, the reactionary writer, Kotzebue, whom the liberals suspected of being a spy in the service of the Russian government, was assassinated by Karl Sand, one of Follen's intimate friends at Jena; and on the 1st of July a murderous assault was made upon the Hessian minister of state, von Ibell, by Karl Löhning, an associate of some of the Giessen Blacks. To the Holy Alliance these atrocious deeds seemed to be a manifestation of the same spirit that had inaugurated the Wartburg meeting, and the Burschenschaft a revival of the ancient "Vehmgericht," with the ultimate object of overthrowing all monarchic institutions. The freedom of the press was now abolished; the formation of societies among students prohibited; the universities placed under immediate government control; a strict police system established; and scores of young men suspected of even the mildest liberal views were arrested and thrown into prison. Follen himself was twice arrested as an accomplice to Sand, but was fully acquitted of the charge.

HIS REVOLUTIONARY POETRY.

The members of Follen's circle gave expression to their republican ideals not only in political tracts, but also in songs and poems, the most radical of which was the anonymous Great Song, a joint product of the Follen brothers. A num-

ber of these revolutionary songs together with poems by such writers as Körner, Arndt, Uhland, and Schenkendorf were collected under the title of "Freie Stimmen frischer Jugend,"¹ one of the most pleasing and important documents of the Burschenschaft movement. The selection may be grouped under five heads: Turnlieder, Freiheitslieder, Reichskleinode, Kriegsgesänge, and Heldenlieder, all of which are variations of the same general theme,—love of liberty and fatherland. As a patriotic appeal to revolution for the attainment of civic freedom and national unity, the Burschenschaft songs supplement in a measure the patriotic lyrics of Körner and Arndt, who summon the nation to unite against foreign oppression. The collection is introduced by Follen's soul-stirring dedicatory poem, "Turnstaat," which is not only one of the gems of German political poetry, but strikes the keynote of the whole revolutionary program,—freedom, unity, equality, through the overthrow of monarchism and the establishment of a Christian-German Republic:

Schalle, du Freiheitssang! Walle wie Wogendrang
Aus Felsenbrust!
Feig bebt der Knechte Schwarm; uns schlägt das Herz so warm,
Uns zuckt der Jünglingsarm voll Tatenlust.

Gott Vater! Dir zu Ruhm flammt deutsches Rittertum
In uns aufs neu;
Neu wird das alte Band, wachsend wie Feuerbrand:
Gott, Freiheit, Vaterland, alteutsche Treu.

Einfach und gläubig sei, kräftig und keusch and frei,
Hermanns Geschlecht!
Zwingherrnmacht, Knechtewitz malmt Gottes Racheblitz:
Euch sei der Königsitz; Freiheit und Recht!

Freiheit! in uns erwacht ist deine Geistesmacht,
Dein Reich genaht:
Glühend nach Wissenschaft, blühend in Ritterkraft
Sei, teutsche Turnerschaft, ein Bruderstaat.

¹ Copies of this little volume are so rare that passages from some of the representative songs will be quoted here.

Sause, du Freiheitssang, brause wie Donnerklang
Aus Wolkenbrust!
Ein Herz, ein Leben ganz stehen wir, ein Sternenkranz
Um einer Sonne Glanz, voll Himmelslust.

Allusion has already been made to the great rôle which the gymnastic movement played in the Burschenschaft and to the high esteem in which its founder was held by Follen and his circle. Just as gymnastics had under Jahn's direction become a powerful means of preparing the nation for the great struggle against Napoleon, it now became in the hands of the liberals an integral part of their national and revolutionary propaganda. Believing that greater tasks were yet to be accomplished the gymnasts formulated their program in verses such as the following, in which they sing with joyous enthusiasm of the revival of ancient knighthood and of the new crusade against injustice and tyranny:

Wir ziehen zum fröhlichen Werke, hinaus auf die grüne Heid';
Ertönen Kraft und Stärke zu manchem kühnen Streit,
Mit Schwertern und mit Lanzen erproben wir den Arm:
Und unser rasches Tanzen macht Mut und Blut so warm.

Wir wollen wieder schaffen die gute alte Art:
Den kühnen Mut der Waffen mit frommem Sinn gepaart;
Wir wollen wie die Ritter, mit blankem Männerschwert
Im Sturm und Schlachtgewitter verfechten Hof und Herd.¹

Das Vaterland vor Ketten zu schirmen für und für,
Und, ist's umgarnt, zu retten; nur darum sterben wir.
Seht! Düstere Nebel trüben noch Deutschlands Morgenrot;
Das Vaterland, ihr Lieben, bedarf noch manchen Tod.

Wir wollen uns vorbereiten zu Opfern fromm und treu,
Dass riesengrossen Zeiten das Herz gewachsen sei.
Drum sind wir hier beisammen, drum ist uns hier so warm;
Wir schüren Geistesflammen, wir stählen unsern Arm.²

¹ *Freye Stimmen*, No. 2 (by Ch. Sartorius).

² *Ibid.*, No. 3 (anonymous).

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Wir mühen uns nicht um goldnen Tand, Herrschthum und Sklaven-
ehre:

Wir ringen, dass ins Vaterland die stolze Freiheit kehre.
So hegen wir ein freies Reich: an Rang und Stand sind alle gleich;
Freies Reich! Alle gleich! Heisa juchei!¹

Follen himself begins with a short panegyric on old
"Turnvater" Jahn and then summons the gymnastic youth to
draw the sword against all enemies whatsoever of the sover-
eign people:

Als der Turnmeister, der alte Jahn
Für des Volkes urheilige Rechte
Vortrat zu der Freiheit Rennlaufbahn:
Da folgt' ihm ein wehrlich Geschlechte.
Heil wie schwungen sich die Jungen, frisch, froh, fromm, frei!
Heil wie sungnen da die Jungen: juchei.
Ueberall nah, überall da,
Sind deine Feinde, Volksgemeinde!
Teutsche Gemeinde, dein Hermann ist da!
Da, hurrah!
Schwerter geschwungen! die Freiheit gerungen!
Juchei, ihr Alten und Jungen.²

Auf, Jubeldonner und Liedersturm!
Der Begeisterung Blitz hat gezündet;
Der Mannheit Eiche, der Teutschheit Turm
Ist in Teutschland wieder gezündet:
Der Freiheit Wiege, dein Sarg, Drängerei!
Wird gezimmert aus dem Baum der Turnerei.

Auf, du Turner! Du Teutscher wohlan!
Auf, ehrliche, wehrliche Jugend!
Noch ficht mit der Wahrheit gekrönter Wahn,
Noch kämpft mit dem Teufel die Tugend.
Schwertstahl aus dem Rost! aus dem Schlauch, junger Most!
Durch die Dunstluft, Nordost! grüner Mai, aus dem Frost!³

¹ Ibid., No. 13 (by Karl Hoffmann).

² Ibid., No. 15 (by Follen brothers).

³ Ibid., No. 14 (by Karl Follen).

Among the *Freiheitslieder* is Follen's famous "Bundeslied auf dem Rütli,"¹ which is a direct challenge to the tyrants, a call to revolution, and the prophecy of a brighter day in the political life of the nation. The following strophes will serve to indicate the general tone and spirit of the whole:

Ja, bei Gott und Vaterland! verderben
Woll'n wir der Gewaltherrn letzte Spur:
Gern für Recht und Freiheit sterben, bleibt für Volk die Freiheit nur!
Gott, hör' unsern Bundesschwur! Hör' an! hör' an! hör' an!

Steig' aus uns'res Blutes Morgenglanze
Glüh'nde Volkssonn' in alter Pracht!
In des Reiches Sternenkränze steig aus uns'res Todes Nacht,
Freistaat Volkes, Gottesmacht! Empor! empor! empor!

Freiheitsbund, vortrage deinem Volke,
Deiner Zeit das Freiheitsbanner kühn!
Aus dir, freie Donnerwolke, soll das Siegkreuz Gottes glüh'n,
Soll ein neues Reich erblüh'n! Hinan! hinan! hinan!

The celebrated Great Song embodies the whole creed of the radicals: the subversion of monarchic government, the establishment of the Christian Republic, and a martyr's death if necessary for the attainment of this end. Its ardent love of liberty, its glowing patriotism, its praise of popular sovereignty, and especially its fierce invective against the despotic rulers, which ring out from beginning to end, are the final and most powerful summons to political revolution. The poem is both lyric and epic in character and is composed of a number of single songs joined together into a unified whole by their passionate revolutionary sentiment. It seems quite probable that the lyric poetry which is contained in Klopstock's patriotic dramas, "Hermann und die Fürsten" and "Hermanns Tod," and which shows great similarity in composition to the Great Song, furnished the model for this poem. In sublime images taken from the *Voluspa* of the older *Edda* the song opens with

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 21.

a grand overture, which portrays the conflagration of the world and the birth of freedom:

Horcht auf, ihr Fürsten! Du, Volk, horch auf!
Freiheit und Rache in vollem Lauf,
Gottes Wetter ziehen blutig herauf!
Auf, dass in Weltbrands Stunden
Ihr nicht müßig werdet gefunden!
Reiss' aus dem Schlummer dich, träges Gewürme,
Am Himmel schau auf, in Gewitterpracht
Hell aufgegagnen dein Todesgestirne!
Es erwacht,
Es erwacht,
Tief aus der sonnenschwangeren Nacht,
In blutflammender Morgenwonne,
Der Sonnen Sonne,
Die Volkesmacht!
Spruch des Herrn, du bist gesprochen,
Volksblut, Freiheitsblut, du wirst gerochen,
Götzendämm'ung, du bist angebrochen.

After this prelude the revolutionary procession passes in review singing in solos and choruses the various parts of the Great Song. As the representative of the older generation of patriots, who had resigned themselves in hopeless despair to the gloomy political outlook of the country, appears an aged man chanting a solemn dirge over the death of freedom, but his mournful strains are soon lost amid the din of a stirring war song as the sturdy German youth come marching along:

Doch es sungen
Die Jungen
Frisch, fröhlich und frei,
Die mutigen Söhne der Turnerei;
Sternaugen funkeln, Schwerter sind bloss,
Laut schallet der Freiheit Trompetenstoss!
Schmettr' heraus
Aus der Brust
Jugendbraus,
Schwertgesaus,
Freiheitslust!

Deutsches-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

At the close of the song the leader of this youthful band addresses himself directly to the spectators, appealing to them to arise in their might and join in the movement for liberty:

Der Völker Volk liegt nieder in Angst und Schweiss,
Seinen Hunger nährend in stummem Fleiss.
Du armes Volk, Dir ist so heiss,
Du bist so elend, so herzkrank,
Beut keiner Dir einen Labetrunk?

Menschenmenge, grosse Menschenwüste,¹
Die umsonst der Geistesfrühling grüsste,
Reisse, krache endlich, altes Eis!
Stürz' in starken stolzen Meeresstrudeln
Hin auf Knecht und Zwingherrn, die Dich hudeln,
Sei ein Volk, ein Freistaat, werde heiss!

After the passionate harangue of this revolutionary leader the people are wrought up to such a pitch of excitement that they answer in one loud acclaim:

Brüder, so kann's nicht gehn,²
Lasst uns zusammen stehn,
Duldet's nicht mehr!
Freiheit, dein Baum fault ab,
Jeder am Bettelstab,
Beisst bald ins Hungergrab;
Volk ins Gewehr!

¹ According to Wit (*Fragmente*, I, 59f.) that part of the song beginning with this strophe had come into the possession of some of the Jena students in the summer of 1818; somebody secretly printed 6,000 copies and scattered them broadcast over the country under the title "Dreissig oder drei und dreissig, gleich viel," meaning that they could put their 33 rulers out of the way as easily as the Greeks got rid of their 30 tyrants.

² This portion of the song was widely disseminated in the Odenwald and had a great influence on the peasant uprising of that region in 1819. It afterward became known as the Odenwälder Bauernlied; cf. Haupt, 133f.

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Brüder in Gold und Seid',
Brüder in Bauernkleid,
Reicht Euch die Hand!
Allen ruft Deutschlands Not,
Allen des Herrn Gebot,
Schlagt Eure Plager tot,
Rettet das Land!

Dann wird's, dann bleibt's nur gut,
Wenn Du an Gut und Blut
Wagst Blut und Gut;
Wenn Du Gewehr und Axt,
Schlachtbeil und Sense packst,
Zwingherrn den Kopf abhackst,
Brenn', alte Wut!

And now the spirit of revolt is abroad in the land. In order to begin the work of organization the youthful revolutionists first join in one indissoluble bond of death-brethren and betake themselves to the depth of the forest where, at the pensive hour of midnight, they kneel in prayer and then partake of the Lord's Supper, consecrating themselves in this solemn manner to the holy cause of freedom:

Es zieht eine Schaar von Männern sich
Herab zum dunkeln Haine,
Beim dämmernden Fackelscheine.

Und dort, wo die Tannen und Eichen im Rund'
Zum erhabenen Dome sich türmen,
Gottes Orgel brauset im Stürmen,
Wie ein Altar aufsteiget der Felsengrund,
Dort trat man zusammen zu Mitternachtstund'.

Und die Todbrüder treten zum Altar hin,
Zu empfahn in heiliger Entflammung,
Was uns Heil bringt oder Verdammung.
Mit dem König der Märt'rer ein Blut und ein Sinn,
So nehmen die Märtyrerweihe sie hin,
Und weih'n sich der ew'gen Erbarmung
Mit Opfergesang und Umarmung.

At the close of this solemn ceremony the death-brethren unite in singing a communion hymn, which is characterized by a deep religious mysticism combined with a spirit of the sternest political fanaticism. The revolutionists were first and above all zealous Christians. They considered Christ, however, not so much a divine mediator, but rather the highest type of manhood, the ideal Republican, and it was his loving self-sacrifice for the cause of humanity, his loyalty to a conviction for which he boldly and joyously faced death, that appealed to them so powerfully:

O Jesu, Liebster mein!
In Fleisch und Blut und Leben,
Im höchsten Geistesstreben
Bin ich nur ewig dein.

Dir bist du, Mensch, entflohen,
Ein Christus sollst du werden,
Wie du ein Kind der Erden,
War auch des Menschen Sohn.

From the spirit of Christian love proceeds their love of fatherland. All aglow with Christian patriotic zeal the death-brethren, again seized by the revolutionary spirit, vow to become martyrs for the sake of freedom and implore divine aid for their solemn task. Then in the "Chorus of free Christians" rings out loud and clear the final call to arms that is to set the revolutionary forces in motion.

Ihr, die mit mir zugleich
Den Glaubenstrank genossen,
Der Tugend Bund geschlossen
Für Kreuz und Schwert und Eich',
Ein Herz, Ein Arm, Ein Blut sind wir geworden
Der ew'gen Freiheit heil'ger Märt'rerorden.

Der Du am Brandaltar
Elias Ruf erhörtest,
Baals Thron und Frohn zerstörtest,
Zu Dir fleht uns're Schaar.

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Ihr Geister der Freien und Frommen,
Wir kommen, wir kommen, wir kommen,
Eine Menschheit zu retten aus Knechtschaft und Wahn,
Zur Blutbühn' zum Rabenstein führt uns're Bahn.

Fort Zwingherrn-, Adel- und Pfaffenbrut,
Soldaten und Pöbel zur Höllenglut!

Ein Reich freier Bürger,
Ein Gott, ein Volk, ein Wille soll sein,
Doch die Menschheit im Volke nur schafft den Verein.

Hurrah! Deutschlands Sterne flammen,
Deutschland krönt Ein Heil'genglanz!
Herzen, Hände schlägt zusammen,
Zwingherrschaft fahr' in die Flammen,
Freiheit aus der Flammen Kranz.

Zu den Waffen! stürme, türme
Berg auf Berg von Knecht und Herrn!
Riesin Deutschland, brich die Klammer,
Alter Freiheit Donnerhammer
Wettre, schmettre nah und fern!

Deutscher Hiebe Kraft zerstiebe
Schlangengift und Tigerwut,
Schwerterblau wird Morgenröte,
Schwerterblitz fahr' aus und tödte
Dich im Meere, Zwingherrnbrut!

How this incipient revolution was nipped in the bud by the monarchic powers has already been alluded to. When Follen became convinced that the times were not ripe for his republican program he sought consolation for his overwhelming disappointment by eulogizing in one last solemn hymn¹ the great German patriots of the past. The first strophe, sung in chorus by the revolutionary party, indicates the theme and the general tone of the whole poem:

Lasst die toten Brüder leben!
Brecht den Schmerz der Gegenwart,
Lasst uns Preis den Teuren geben,
So im Volksdienst ausgeharrt!
Einen soll uns jeder sagen,
Der ihm füllt die treue Brust;
Manch ein Herz hat euch geschlagen:
Volkesschmerz und Freiheitslust.

¹ *Freie Stimmen*, No. 56 (by Follen brothers).

Accordingly this introductory chorus is followed by a number of solos, the first of which recalls the memorable deeds of Hermann in the Teutoburger Forest. Then we are introduced to the heroes of the great mediæval epics; to such heroic characters as Karl the Hammer, the great emperors, Heinrich, Otto, and Rudolph, to the famous knights of chivalry and the crusades, and to the patriots Tell and Winkelried, men who made the world ring with the renown of their mighty deeds. After these praises of the middle ages comes a panegyric on Luther and the Reformation, followed by eulogies on the poets and heroes of the wars of liberation. After recalling to memory Germany's glorious past, the individual singers all join again in chorus in a lament over the desolate present and the hopeless outlook for the future of the fatherland:

Ja, es stieg manch' helle Sonne, Vaterland, aus deinem Schoos,
Träumtest hohe Mutterwonne, und nun wächst du freudenlos —
Was dies letzte Glas bedeute, sag' es, treu Germanenherz!
Klingt! — es klingt wie Grabgeläute —:
Unsrer Sehnsucht tiefer Schmerz.

It would be time lost to enter into a discussion of these revolutionary songs for the purpose of pointing out their literary defects or merits. Although some of them do strike the true poetic note, it may as well be confessed at the outset that a great deal of this lyric effusion, especially the Great Song, is for the most part mere rhetorical pathos showing an uncontrolled imagination spurred on by animal vitality, which makes much of it bizarre and some of it even repulsive. Admitting then the crudeness of these songs as literature, one must seek elsewhere than in the field of æsthetics for their importance, if they possess any at all.

At the beginning of the 19th century German literature had very little connection with the actual, contemporary life of the nation, but drew its inspiration from the German past and concerned itself mostly with æsthetic questions. It became the task of the younger generation, therefore, to arouse the nation from its one-sided literary culture to a sense of the

importance of public affairs; hence the poets of the wars of liberation and their successors performed the important service of bringing poetry and reality, literature and life, art and politics into contact and mutual relation. Writers began now to descend into the turmoil and passions of the actual world, entering into the feelings and desires, the hopes and longings of the people. As the times gradually became predominantly political, poetry as a result entered the service of politics and the practical development of modern life; as a mirror of political conditions it became a critique of the national life and hence a part of the national existence. It mattered not so much what the poet wrote as to what party he belonged,—how he asserted and developed his moral character in practical affairs. Unlike the Classicists and Romanticists the poet's personality now became more prized than his literary productions; hence the political poetry of the early decades of the century had as its chief task to evaluate moral motives, becoming thereby influential as a moral force for the guidance of the nation to a higher standard of life. What the national literature of Germany was lacking in its best productions was to be gained not from abstract theory, but from reality; not from books, but from deeds; hence political literature served to point the way from the past to the future. Herein lay whatever value there was in the poetry of Follen's circle.

The political poets of the wars of liberation embodied in verse the patriotic sentiment, becoming thus a great moral force in the national uprising against Napoleon. The poets of the Burschenschaft movement went still farther, seeking not only to inspire love of fatherland, but demanding civic freedom and national unity; hurling defiance at the old regime on the one hand and aiming at national reconstruction on the other. They comprehended the task of the age, presenting in their poetry the great principles of popular life, such as freedom, nationality, and self-rule, thus not only voicing the sentiment and convictions of the people, but becoming also the prophets of the political revolts of later years. These young enthusiasts, bound by no considerations, gave themselves up unreservedly to the spirit of the times. Their cry

for freedom was the cry of the nation, of humanity. Their enthusiasm for nationality and their wrath against despotism, along with their joyous rush into revolution,—revolution for the emancipation of the people, gave to their songs a new element in German political poetry, making them thereby the forerunners of the political writers of the '30s and '40s, such as Freiligrath and Herwegh.

In the passion of their storm and stress the members of Follen's circle were political in their hearts rather than in their heads. Most of the political wisdom of their poetry was contained in a few catch-words which served to arouse patriotic sentiment, but which was not sufficient to solve practical political problems. Although it was juvenile and immature it served to keep alive the patriotic sentiment, not so much among the masses, however, as among the academic youth, who, trained in this early school of patriotic, revolutionary sentiment, were to become the future political leaders. The Burschenschaft poetry was then, in a word, prophetic. Its aims lay in the future; its important function was tentatively to point out with great emphasis the distant goal to be gained. Passionate and bombastic it had to be to make any impression. The way had to be prepared, and if some of the utterances of these juvenile revolutionists were too radical they were nevertheless of value in preparing the soil for the great harvest that was to follow—the unification of Germany on a democratic basis.

In regard to the Great Song still one word more seems necessary: When carefully considered, without prejudice, Follen's virulent attack upon the tyrants seems too verbose to be criminal or even dangerous. It is always easier to condemn than to seek to understand. The language of this song cannot be correctly interpreted by those who have not sometime in their life been moved by a passionate longing for freedom, or whose hearts have not been powerfully touched by the sight of gross injustice and tyranny. Follen was only a youth of twenty-two years, an ardent patriot who was not only filled with righteous indignation against the tyranny of his own times, but who sympathized with the martyrs of liberty in all ages. Earnest, courageous, yet inexperienced, he longed to

seize the avenging sword and with one blow destroy the firmly established and ancient institution of absolute monarchism, but in his impetuosity and impatience with the slow means of redress he neither weighed his words nor counted the cost of acts to which he felt prompted only by the most generous impulses. Judging him from this viewpoint with the knowledge, too, that he possessed the most noble and tender heart, one ought, it seems, to interpret the defying tones and the vehement indignation of the Great Song as nothing more than the natural utterances of intense all-sacrificing devotion to the rights, dignity, and happiness of mankind.

THE ASSASSINATION OF KOTZEBUE.

The crushing effect which the assassination of Kotzebue by Karl Sand had upon the patriotic hopes and aspirations of Follen and his circle has already been indicated in the discussion of his revolutionary propaganda. Was Follen implicated, either directly or indirectly, in the assassination of Kotzebue? This question has been frequently discussed, and answered in various ways. In all probability no new evidence will ever be forthcoming to throw new light upon this mystery; hence the present discussion must of necessity be of a purely analytical nature. It presents a resumé of the various arguments thus far advanced in the case, and aims at a solution both from a historical and a psychological point of view.

When Sand was still a mere child he displayed extraordinary courage, will power, and above all a sort of morbid desire to perform some great deed. As he grew older he became intensely patriotic and expressed his willingness to sacrifice his life for the fatherland. Various entries in his diary¹ throw light upon his character and are thus important in the psychological explanation of his deed. At one time when he heard that Napoleon was to pass through his home town he felt, according to an entry in the diary, that he could not refrain from making a "deadly assault upon the oppressor of

¹ A number of these entries are given by Jarcke—*Karl Ludwig Sand und sein an Kotzebue verübter Mord*, 150ff.; cf. also Biedermann, *25 Jahre deutscher Geschichte*, I, 186ff.

his fatherland should he meet him face to face.”¹ After the war he took a leading part in founding a branch of the Burschenschaft at Erlangen and noted in his diary that “the spirit of the organization consists in a burning hatred of the internal as well as the external enemies of the fatherland.”² His patriotism was accompanied by an ardent religious exaltation, and gradually he became visionary, manifesting an inclination toward the exceptional and the fantastic. In April 1816 while taking the sacrament with his parents he noted in his diary: “O, if only I could die this very moment for some noble purpose.”³ At times he became taciturn, then peevish, and again overbearing. All these traits indicate already an abnormal psychology. For the Wartburg meeting he wrote a paper with such passages as the following:⁴ “We will be free in the fatherland or die with it if God commands it;” “In open conflict the individual must oppose evil of his own free will and on his own responsibility so that others will not be implicated in his action;” and again, “the rejuvenation of the fatherland by a few enlightened youths of noble nature.” Sand seems to have known little about Kotzebue until the Wartburg meeting. After this celebration he entered the University of Jena and on the 19th of November, 1817, made the following entry⁵ in his diary: “Kotzebue’s new insults have been proclaimed in the market-place. Oh, how he hates us patriotic students.” From this time on he cherished a growing dislike for Kotzebue and this aversion was inflamed by Luden’s disclosure in the “Nemesis” that Kotzebue was a spy in the service of the Russian government. His hatred of Kotzebue now became so intense that he wrote⁶ in May, 1818: “When I consider the matter I think somebody ought to have courage enough to

¹ Biedermann, I, 187.

² Ibid., 188.

³ Ibid., 190.

⁴ Ibid., 189.

⁵ Jarcke, 150.

⁶ Ibid.

thrust his sword through the body of Kotzebue or of any other such traitor." On November 2, 1818, he wrote as follows:¹ "From self-conviction, with unqualified will, except which nothing in this world is of value to me in the eyes of God; to defend the people's God-given rights against all man-made laws at the risk of one's life; to work to introduce a pure humanity among the German people by preaching and dying; that seems to me quite different than to renounce life and the people. What boundless strength, what a benediction do I feel in my will! I tremble no longer! This is the condition of true likeness to God." On December 4th: "O the momentous hour when I decided to live unconditionally for my country, when I broke the thousand bonds which restrained me from dying for my fatherland. Through my will I decide unconditionally, oh eternal holy God, for thy kingdom, for freedom! Not to decide to live from conviction, not to die for it, is sinful; it is the sin of millions."²

From the foregoing it seems quite certain that the assassination of Kotzebue had become a fixed idea in the mind of Sand nearly a year before he ever met Follen, with whom he could not have become intimately acquainted until the end of October, 1818, since Follen did not leave Giessen until the early part of that month.³ Sand was a pensive dreamer, longing to commit some notorious deed and brooding in secret over the question whether he himself should take vengeance on Kotzebue or not. In this state of mind he came under the influence of Follen's teachings, and it seems very plausible that his purpose might have been strengthened by them as the diary entries of November 2d and December 4th indicate. That Sand had fully decided the question before the end of the year is evident from a note written in the diary on December 31st, as follows:⁴ "I am spending the last day of this year, 1818, in a solemn mood, and I am resolved that the

¹ Biedermann, I, 190.

² Ibid.

³ *Works*, I, 67.

⁴ Jarcke, 150.

Christmas which I have just celebrated will have been my last. If anything is to come of our efforts; if the cause of humanity is to prevail in our fatherland; if in this momentous time enthusiasm is to revive again in our country and everything not be forgotten again, then the traitor and seducer of youth, A. v. K., must fall—this I fully recognize." Even if Follen's doctrine of political assassination did serve to confirm Sand in his resolution it can hardly be assumed that the acquaintance between them at this time had become intimate enough to permit him to suggest to Sand the commission of any special act even if he himself did have such a project in mind, which is highly improbable.

For a time Sand seemed to waver in his resolution, "praying that God would save him from this act," as he testified at his trial,¹ "and hoping that somebody else would commit the deed;" but after meditating again upon the sad condition of the country he finally wrote in his diary: "Ye princes, why do you force me to this act," and then renewed his resolve, considering it "a call from God, which I dare not disregard." Before leaving Jena to carry out his project against Kotzebue, who was then living in Mannheim, Sand wrote a long letter to his Jena friends, informing them of his intentions and exonerating them from all suspicion. This letter along with another document, "Todesstoss Kotzebues," enclosed in one package and addressed to the Burschenschaft, was found in Sand's unlocked desk after the crime had been committed. Whether he left this package in his desk or whether he gave it to someone else to place there after the commission of the crime could not be determined. In addition to this he left behind a second package containing a letter to his parents and also three letters addressed to three different newspapers; these three letters contained copies of the "Todesstoss" and a justification of his contemplated crime. Sand spent two weeks on the journey to Mannheim, and the fact that the letter to his parents was posted at Jena and reached its destination after the commission of the crime

¹ Biedermann, I, 200.

proves that it had been entrusted to some friend to mail. A number of Sand's friends were arrested as accomplices, among them Follen, who was tried first in Weimar in May and in the following October at Mannheim, but in the long trying examination, in which he was confronted by Sand, no legal evidence was found against him. Sand stoutly maintained that he had no accomplice or confidant, that he had planned and carried out the deed without the aid or knowledge of any individual or any secret organization. When called upon to explain how the letter to his parents had been sent from Jena after he had departed from there he replied that he had left it in the care of his friend, Friedrich Asmis. With tears in his eyes the latter protested his innocence, whereupon Sand finally admitted that he had turned the package over to Follen to deliver to Asmis. This in turn was stubbornly denied by Follen. If it be granted for the sake of argument that Sand did actually entrust Follen with the posting of this letter at a given date it does not necessarily follow, as Hausenstein¹ points out, that the latter had any knowledge of Sand's intentions. If Sand did leave the first package in his open desk it could easily have been discovered and delivered to the Burschenschaft in time to prevent him from carrying out his project. Therefore it seems more reasonable to suppose that, if he was discreet, he entrusted it to some friend with instructions to place it in his desk after a given time. Even if it be assumed that this friend was Follen it does not prove that he was Sand's confidant. The trial established the fact also that Follen had loaned Sand the money for his journey, but this likewise does not by any means indicate that he had the least knowledge of Sand's project or even of his eventual destination.

After the facts brought out by the foregoing discussion the testimony of some of Follen's and Sand's associates must next be examined. Not long after Sand had paid the penalty for his crime Johannes Wit, whom Follen had befriended in many ways in Jena, published a pamphlet in which he pro-

¹ *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, 1906, II, 200.

fessed to disclose the schemes of the liberal party, branding Follen especially as a dangerous revolutionist and as the instigator of the Kotzebue murder. Wit had professed the greatest devotion to Follen, but when he saw that he had attached himself to a failing cause he went over to the side of its enemies in order to save himself from danger. Wit was a political renegade of the first rank, and even such historians as Treitschke¹ admit that little credence can be given to his statements. Although the Jena students found Wit an agreeable companion they considered him so unreliable, as Leo reports,² that they did not take him into their confidence concerning their private matters, although he considered himself the chief actor in all that took place. According to Rechtlieb Zeitgeist³ many of them regarded him as a spy in the service of his uncle, Baron Eckstein, who was at that time Inspector General of the French police. However this may be it may safely be assumed that Follen was too discreet to disclose to such a notably unstable character as Wit plans of various assassinations, as the latter asserts,⁴ had he entertained such thoughts.

To Wit's attack upon Follen Wesselhöft replied in his *Teutsche Jugend*, admitting that Follen advocated political assassination in theory, but denying that he was actively engaged in an attempt to put the doctrine into actual practice. Treitschke⁵ calls Wesselhöft's defense of Follen nothing but a cleverly written misleading lawyer's plea. Wesselhöft was indeed a friend and admirer of Follen and belonged to his circle of Jena friends, but by no means countenanced his Jesuitical principles and his doctrine of unconditionality.⁶ If he had

¹ Cf. *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*, II, 522.

² *Meine Jugendzeit*, 179.

³ *Demagogische Umtriebe*, II, 691.

⁴ *Fragmente*, I, 29ff.

⁵ *Deutsche Geschichte*, II, 522.

⁶ *Teutsche Jugend*, 88f.: "We took a hearty interest in Follen and remained his friends even after we felt called upon to say to him: From henceforth we are against you.—His whole being and thinking

actually subscribed to them Treitschke's unfavorable comment on his defense of Follen would carry more weight than it otherwise does.

Probably the most thorough and non-partisan discussion of Sand's deed is Jarcke's psychologic-criminalistic analysis¹ published in 1824. Jarcke holds that Sand's life fully proves that the crime had its origin in the intellectual life then prevalent at the universities, and not merely in a narrow circle. Not all who embraced the movement were as radical as Sand or would have countenanced assassination to realize their political aims. Many started from the same premises as Sand, but the latter was carried along irresistably by the intellectual current. It is, however, a wrong conception, Jarcke maintains, to believe that those false political maxims had their origin in certain individuals, or that the evil could be overcome by getting rid of these false teachers. To be sure individuals could appear as the representatives of the intellectual tendency and could contribute to it, but the source of the erroneous thoughts lies deeper. What seems like the evil will of individuals in an erroneous, suddenly appearing intellectual movement is merely, as Jarcke explains it, the product of a long chain of circumstances which are independent of individual, human plans and aims. Thus the revolutionary movement must be distinguished carefully from a mere dissatisfaction with rulers and political conditions. Jarcke believes that it was the necessary product of that intellectual movement that placed the human Ego in the foreground and made human reason the law of the free man, for this conception of life places authority not in God, but in the reason—the reason of

was penetrated by a moral conviction which was in perfect unity with itself, which had become truth and certainty to him, without which he could not be what he is, could not become and remain good and noble. —He would willingly have attained in a peaceful manner what he deemed indispensably necessary for his country and people if there had been the slightest chance of his succeeding, but he held himself prepared for war as soon as peace was broken. Never, however, did he act in defiance of lawful organizations. He denied only the justice of police authority, which he looked upon as a misuse of power, an invasion of the existing legal constitution and of civil liberty."

¹ *Karl Ludwig Sand und sein an Kotzebue verübter Mord.* 262ff.

the individual, or the collective reason of the people. This atheistic system, as he calls it, leads to a republic, and is, in his opinion, the national enemy of the Christian-German conception of law and state. From this standpoint, then, it is an error to consider the movement of Sand and his companions a momentary aberration of a few eccentric young people; it is on the contrary a phenomenon which of historical necessity had to come forth from deep spiritual motives. But it would be just as erroneous to treat these religious and political errors, according to Jarcke, as a personal malignity of those who cherished them, or to misunderstand the sad truth that during that period many of the best heads and noblest hearts in the German universities were drawn into the magic circle of the revolutionary movement. The fact can and must not be passed over in silence that many of the best youths who at that time cherished the false theories became afterwards the noblest and best men. When one considers how widely that movement was disseminated it is certain, in Jarcke's judgment, that Sand received from all his companions of like persuasion countless outer suggestions and impulses to his crime. By the nature of the case it must, however, remain inscrutable as to who perhaps involuntarily stimulated him, who perhaps instigated him unintentionally against the victim of his fanaticism, what unintentional assertion hastened him on the path he had chosen. "And so in my opinion," Jarcke concludes,¹ "the main cause of the crime was Sand's desire to do some striking deed that would astonish the nation and at the same time would serve as a shining example to his friends and companions; the second and more remote cause was his religious political system, and it lay rather in accidental circumstances that his longed-for great deed was the assassination of Kotzebue."

The report of the Central Investigation Commission at Mainz, which was appointed to inquire into the whole revolutionary movement, and also the investigation instituted by the Prussian government, showed conclusively that Sand's deed

¹ Ibid., 150.

was not the result of any secret propaganda. This verdict was accepted as final until Friedrich Münch's¹ disclosures again opened up the controversy. In 1873, more than half a century after the event, Münch, who had taken at least some part in the Giessen Burschenschaft movement, felt constrained to reveal what he alleges to be a true version of the affair. According to his account² the murder of Kotzebue was not merely the deed of a fanatic who felt himself divinely appointed to rid the land of tyrants, but that it was the result of a plan coolly concocted by Follen and his friends. He asserts further³ that Follen's younger brother, Paul, had a

¹ Friedrich Münch (1799-1881) was associated with Paul Follen in organizing the Giessen Emigration Society and came to Warren County, Mo., in 1834, where he spent the remainder of his life.

² "Erinnerungen": *Gesammelte Schriften*, 56f.: "Eine Revolution direkt zu machen, ging nicht an. Aber einen allgemein als Verräter an der deutschen Ehre und Freiheit gebrandmarkten Menschen in der möglichst auffallenden Weise zu strafen und aus dem Wege zu schaffen, dadurch die ganze Nation zum Gefühl ihrer Schmach mächtig aufzuregen, Tausende anzufeuern, dass sie, dem gegebenen Beispiel folgend, auch ihre Dolche blitzen liessen, wonach dann *das Volk zu den Waffen greifen und alle seine Plager totschiessen würde* (italics are mine)—das schien erreichbar und tunlich.—Das Falsche in der Berechnung rührt daher, dass Follen bei aller sonstigen Einsicht doch die Masse des Volkes, seine Stimmung und Anschauung nicht kannte. Und warum verrichtete Follen die Tat nicht selbst? Aus reiner Oekonomie; denn der Gedanke der Selbstaufopferung war ihm in der Tat einer der liebsten. Ihm war aber eine höhere Aufgabe gestellt, seiner konnte die künftige Revolution als ihres Führers nicht entbehren,—er musste für das Schwerere, das noch kommen sollte, sich erhalten. Hätte er dies sich nicht selbst gesagt, so sagte Sand es ihm jedenfalls, und er musste die Tat dem Freunde überlassen, der eben dafür und nicht für noch Bedeutenderes sich befähigt hielt."

³ Ibid., 96ff.: "Wie Karl Follen der Tat Sands nicht ferne gestanden hatte, so stand Paul dem Attentat von Löhning wohl auch näher. War Sands Tat von Jena ausgegangen, so musste die zweite der Ordnung gemäss von Giessen aus erfolgen.—So sassen denn in dem Hinterstübchen einer Dorfschenke an der Grenze von Hessen und Nassau in nächtlicher Beratung drei Männer zusammen, einer aus Giessen—derjenige, welcher dort Karl Follen's Geist am meisten vertrat—dann Pfarrer F. aus der Wetterau und der Apothekergehülfe Löhning, welcher erst seit Kurzem aus innerem Drange die Bekanntschaft der Vaterlandsfreunde gesucht und sich ihnen angeschlossen hatte. Man einigte sich darüber, dass Ibell fallen müsse und wollte das Loos darüber entscheiden lassen, welcher von den Dreien das Urteil vollstrecken sollte. Es fiel auf den ersten der drei Genannten, aber Löhning führte überzeugend aus, dass mit Recht ihm, dem näheren Landsmann Ibells, die Rolle des Rächers zukomme, und forderte die Tat für sich."

hand in planning the assassination of von Ibell. Following Münch's statements, upon which he relies unreservedly, Treitschke paints a very sinister portrait¹ of Follen, condemning him first of all on purely circumstantial evidence; although he admits that guilt in the strict judicial sense cannot be proved, he accepts Münch's verdict² to the contrary. It is well known that Treitschke was one of the strongest champions of the monarchic principle, that he denied the right of the people to self-government, and that he was the sworn enemy of republicanism; therefore it is not surprising to find his account of Follen colored by political prejudice. Without doubt his condemnation of Follen is too severe, as Haupt³ observes, and this is the more to be regretted since the statements of such a recognized authority carries great weight.

It now remains to examine the testimony of Münch, first in regard to specific statements and then concerning its general credibility.

¹ *Deutsche Geschichte im 19. Jahrhundert*, II, 522: "Sicherlich hat der unselige Mensch (Sand) geglaubt, dass er seinen Entschluss in voller Freiheit gefasst habe, denn nur die aus eigener Ueberzeugung entspringende Tat liess er entgelten; es ist aber psychologisch unmöglich, dass der menschenkundige Karl Follen, der mit seinem Basiliskensblick den wehrlosen Schwachkopf vollkommen beherrschte und in dieser dürftigen Seele wie in einem offenen Buche las, den Mordplan nicht bemerkt und befördert haben sollte. So gewiss die Aehre dem Saatkorn entspriesst, eben so gewiss erscheint der Prediger des politischen Mordes vor dem sittlichen Urteil der Geschichte als der Urheber der Ermordung Kotzebues. Ein Mitwisser des gefassten Entschlusses war er unzweifelhaft; er verschaffte das Reisegeld für die Wanderfahrt nach Mannheim; unterrichtete seine Getreuen in allen Schlichen und Kniffen des Kriminalprozesses und belehrte sie sorgsam über ihr Verhalten vor dem Untersuchungsrichter."

² *Ibid.*, II, 522: "Diese Tatsachen mussten unglaublich erscheinen, so lange sie nur durch die Denkwürdigkeiten des elenden Denunzianten Wit von Döring, bezeugt waren; heute lassen sie sich nicht mehr bezweifeln, seit ein vertrauter Freund der Gebrüder Follen, Friedrich Münch, sie wiederholt auf das Bestimmteste zugegeben hat. Münch beruft sich auf vertrauliche Mitteilungen seines Freundes, Paul Follen; er ist ein Mann von anerkannter Rechtschaffenheit und ich sehe nicht ein, warum die nachdrücklichen Versicherungen der ehrlichen Radikalen, die ohnehin nichts Unwahrscheinliches enthalten, unglaublich sein sollen. Das zur Verteidigung Karl Follen's geschriebene anonyme Büchlein *Deutschlands Jugend in weiland Burschenschaften und Turngemeinden* (by R. Wesselhöft) ist nichts weiter als eine gewandte unaufrichtige Advokatenschrift."

³ *Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen*, 24.

Münch states explicitly that Follen instigated the Kotzebue murder not only to get rid of a hated traitor, but also to arouse "das Volk zu den Waffen greifen und alle seine Plager totschiagen." The striking resemblance of this phraseology to that of the stanza of the Great Song where the poet exclaims: "Volk, ins Gewehr!" Schlagt eure Plager tot!" causes one to wonder whether Münch is not constructing a hypothetical case out of Follen's revolutionary utterances rather than stating an actual fact. His statement, too, that Paul Follen and others cast lots to determine who should murder von Ibell, and that in accordance with a definite plan this deed was to proceed from Giessen and Sand's from Jena, should be accepted with caution. "As Karl Follen was closely connected with Sand's deed, Paul was probably (wohl) more closely connected with that of Löhning." It seems strange that Münch should begin his account of the assault on von Ibell with such a hypothetical statement and close it with the most positive assertions. Stern observes ¹ that after Kotzebue was murdered wild rumors sprang up over the whole country to the effect that the students were casting lots to determine which university should choose an assassin for Kotzebue, Stourdzia, Schmalz, etc.; and in view of the fact that Münch's story is identical with these rumors, which were proved groundless, one is tempted to conclude that his recollections are somewhat clouded or that his story is, as Biedermann ² suggests, a myth altogether.

Although Wit was Follen's chief accuser he confesses ³ that the latter was by no means cruel or blood-thirsty by nature, that he was in no way connected with the attempt against von Ibell's life, that he cared nothing about so unimportant a man as Kotzebue, that he was at that time strongly opposed

¹ *Geschichte Europas*, I, 557.

² *25 Jahre deutscher Geschichte*, I, 206.

³ *Fragmente*, I, 37ff.: "One would do him a great injustice to regard the projected murder of von Ibell as his work. This was due without question to the hatred of the Unconditionals against the distinguished statesman, who was considered responsible for the dismissal of criminal judge, Wm. Snell." Snell was also a revolutionist and closely connected with the Giessen Blacks.

to assassination because he knew well that the people would thereby turn against the cause in whose interest it was committed, and that if he did in spite of that send Sand to murder Kotzebue it was done to see how the people would regard it. Wit supplements this statement by another to the effect that one of Sand's friends sought in 1820 to borrow money from Follen in order to go to Baden to assassinate the Grand Duke out of revenge for Sand's execution, but that Follen with great difficulty dissuaded him from his purpose.

As further evidence against Münch's statements Wolfgang Menzel, who was well acquainted with Follen in Jena, but did not share his views, testified as follows¹ a few years after Münch's disclosures were published: "People have slandered the Unconditionals by saying that they cast lots to see who should murder Kotzebue, but those young men were not so depraved as that. Sand made the resolve of his own accord after he had strengthened his stoical courage in Follen's club, but in no way had he received any instruction regarding any definite act.—Sand was capable of such a decision of his own accord; it was the result of his religious enthusiasm. Had anybody sought to persuade him to do what he did not feel impelled to do spontaneously he would have refused."²

A few years after Menzel's account appeared Heinrich Leo published his memoirs, which also place Münch's statements in a doubtful light. It should be borne in mind that Wesselhöft, Menzel, and Leo actually associated with Follen and Sand in Jena and speak from first-hand knowledge, while Münch was at that time in Giessen 125 miles away; and the fact that these men did not agree with Follen in his radical doctrines would tend to remove any suspicion that their testimony was biased in his favor. Leo lived in the same house with Sand and was most intimately acquainted with him. Contrary to Wit, who says that himself, Follen and Sand were the only bona fide Unconditionals in Jena, Leo asserts³ that

¹ *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 129.

² Cf. Sand's own statement in his diary entry for Nov. 2, 1818.

³ *Meine Jugendzeit*, 186.

there were still others, that while Sand was an Unconditional, as his deed proves, he was never a member of Follen's narrower circle, but dawdled around in a certain dilletantism of Teutonism and free thought without having any fixed theory; hence he was not relied upon by his friends for any practical end. Leo states emphatically that the questions of unconditionality and of political assassination were discussed not only in Follen's club, but in other circles all over Jena, and expresses his belief that Sand was induced by these discussions to determine by experiment whether the people would approve of such violent revolutionary measures or not. Upon hearing the remark of a certain Jena professor, that some enthusiast or other would take vengeance on Kotzebue for his traitorous conduct Sand replied to Leo,¹ that it would certainly be a good opportunity to test the question as to what sort of impression a political murder would make. According to Leo² Wit's story³ concerning Follen's alleged plan to assassinate the Czar of Russia was due to a farcical discussion of that subject to test the courage of a few who seemed to be wavering in their conviction. Wit was one of the innocent victims of this mock debate. Leo relates further⁴ that on the day Sand's deed was reported in Jena the town was so excited that it would have been easy to find dozens of men to commit a like act. The fact that all these dozens of men did not belong to Follen's circle, that political assassination was discussed outside of Follen's circle, would indicate plainly that there were other sources besides Follen from which Sand could have been influenced. Leo's final verdict⁵ is that Sand had no confidant, and was aided only in an indirect way.

Now as to the general reliability of Münch's testimony: The value of any historical source depends not only upon the capability and the good will of the writer to tell the truth, but

¹ Ibid., 220.

² Ibid., 180f.

³ *Fragmente*, I, 29ff.

⁴ *Meine Jugendzeit*, 188.

⁵ Ibid., 188.

also upon the relative demonstrability of the truth of what he recounts. If the truth cannot be positively demonstrated then probability or even possibility must be taken as the criterion. But one condition is necessary before a source can be recognized as original, that is, it must bear the stamp of independence. There seems to be no reason for doubting Münch's honesty, but the same cannot be said concerning his ability. And why? In the first place, he was not on the scene of action; the story he tells is hear-say evidence related to him years after the events themselves; while his publication of it to the world was made still many more years later, after his memory had become clouded as he several times admits in the course of his narrative. As to the truth of his report it cannot be demonstrated; it is possible, but in view of the evidence already introduced it seems improbable. Münch claims¹ that his account of Follen's European career is original and independent: "Of no part of my life," to use his own words, "do I have such a keen recollection as of that which I spent with my youthful companions. Therein I possess for this sketch such a rich and trustworthy source as few biographers have at their disposal. Besides, I have lived long enough and experienced enough to enable me to form an independent judgment of circumstances and persons." Whether this statement actually squares with Münch's narrative is a question which J. Hermann has thoroughly discussed in his "Kritik der Nachrichten über die Attentate von 1819."²

For that part of his account which deals with Follen's American career Münch had of necessity to depend wholly upon the biography of Mrs. Follen. Concerning Follen's personal appearance, his moral character, and his philosophical principles he quotes Wesselhöft verbatim, admitting³ in a footnote that he is "compelled to quote from an English translation." The fact that there was no other translation of Wesselhöft's work than the extracts given in Mrs. Follen's biography

¹ *Gesammelte Schriften*, 40.

² Cf. *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII, 573-592.

³ *Gesammelte Schriften*, 60.

shows that Münch made use of this biography also as a source for his account of Follen's European career. Taking this as his first clew Hermann carefully analyses Münch's account, comparing many passages side by side with extracts from Wesselhöft's and Mrs. Follen's narratives. This comparison shows that Münch has contributed nothing except the alleged new information concerning the assassination of Kotzebue and von Ibell and a few minor matters connected with the Giessen movement, some of which either from lack of first-hand knowledge or from faulty memory are inaccurately portrayed. The rest of his account consists for the most part in translation direct from Mrs. Follen and Wesselhöft, or in paraphrases with certain expressions retained which betray their origin. This proves, according to Hermann,¹ that Münch's account of Follen's life in Germany is in the main taken from Mrs. Follen, and cannot therefore, contrary to Münch's own claims, be regarded as an original and independent source; hence his version of Sand's deed must be considered at least as improbable. Hausenstein² is of the opinion that Hermann is hypercritical and hence unjust, but admits that he himself is surprised at Münch's omission of all details of the Kotzebue assassination and at his surprising generalizations. Jastrow,³ on the other hand, believes that Hermann's "searching critique" has rendered Münch's testimony wholly inadmissible.

In conclusion, one more argument may be brought forward for consideration: Most of those who have argued for or against the probability of Follen's implication in the Kotzebue affair have been guided wholly by their knowledge of his European career only. Those who believe that he cherished bloody designs against the German rulers base their arguments for the most part on his radical revolutionary doctrine. He did indeed advocate the overthrow of despotism through assassination if necessary, but it is quite probable, as already suggested, that many of his rabid utterances were for

¹ *Forschungen*, XXIII, 579.

² *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, 1906, II, 199.

³ *Geschichte des deutschen Einheitstraumes*, 330.

the most part "harmless braggadocia," to quote the words of Jarcke.¹ An analysis of his whole life and character speaks eloquently against the assumption that he ever seriously countenanced the practical application of his stern theory. Treitschke states that it was "psychologically impossible for him not to have promoted Sand's murderous scheme." Indirectly? Possibly. Using Treitschke's own argument it is only fair to insist that it was psychologically impossible for Follen to have intentionally and knowingly brought about Kotzebue's death. In the first place he was too shrewd to run the risk of committing an act which would be sure to crush the revolutionary movement, as Sand's deed really did; in the second place, his whole nature would have cried out against such a useless shedding of blood. Not only Follen's youthful companions, but especially his American friends unanimously agree that he was one of the kindest, purest, and noblest characters they had ever known. Both from the standpoint of his ethical system and from the bottom of his heart he revered human life above all things; he would even step out of his path to avoid crushing the ugliest worm, believing that it too was a spark of the divine life. Had his hands been stained with human blood, especially with that of so harmless a man as Kotzebue, he could hardly have passed through life as a teacher of Christlike perfection without betraying at some time in some way his duplicity,² for "his heart was always on his tongue," as Wesselhöft expresses it, and all are agreed that hypocrisy was foreign to his nature.

In view therefore of all the foregoing considerations it seems safe to assume that Follen was innocent until better proof than that which Münch and Treitschke have given can be adduced to the contrary.³ But however that may be, one

¹ *Karl Ludwig Sand*, Chap. 3.

² After completing this chapter I found this conclusion corroborated by Max Lenz in his *Geschichte der Universität Berlin*, II, 49ff., Berlin, 1910.

³ This statement, too, I later found corroborated by Charles Seignobos in his *Political History of Europe since 1814*, p. 385, N. Y., 1900. He says: "Treitschke, deceived by the false account given by Münch, believed there was a revolutionary conspiracy."

thing is certain: Even if his head was not level on the subject of political theory, even if his tongue was at times unruly, his heart was always in the right place; and the irrepressible enthusiasm of this tempestuous struggle of his youth was followed by a career of the serenest virtue.

IN POLITICAL EXILE.

Owing to the notoriety occasioned by his supposed connection with the assassination of Kotzebue Follen was removed from his position in the University of Jena in the autumn of 1819. As an object of suspicion to many he now returned to Giessen, but was from this time on under constant police surveillance. In view of the hopeless political outlook, and convinced too that he was no longer safe in Germany, he now conceived the idea of emigrating to the United States to continue there his efforts on behalf of political reform in his native land. To this end he entered into communication with a few of his faithful political friends who had associated with him in the Giessen Burschenschaft movement, discussing with them plans, which he had already sketched, for the founding of a German republic in America.

The main argument¹ of this memorial² was, that since all efforts to meliorate the intolerable political conditions under which Germany was languishing had failed the only alternative left to the friends of liberty was to found a German state in America to serve as an asylum for political refugees and as a base from which to continue the propaganda for unity and democracy in the mother country. Follen believed that the highest task of the American commonwealth was to realize the ideal of freedom in its purest form, but expressed the belief that "the deeper spiritual import of freedom, which alone can lay the foundation of America's world-supremacy, must proceed from Germany, the center of all modern culture." As a part of his comprehensive program a German educational

¹ Cf. Haupt, 146.

² The document itself, entitled, *Denkschrift über die deutsche Bildungsanstalt in Nordamerika*, is preserved only in the government archives at Berlin.

institution embracing all branches of knowledge was to be erected in this proposed free-state for the purpose of strengthening the German-Americans' love for their native language, manners and customs, and of maintaining and developing German national culture in general. The faculty of this seminary was to be selected from Follen's circle of political friends, especially from those university professors who had been dismissed on account of their liberal political views,—men such as Fries, Oken, DeWette, Fr. Forster and the Snell brothers. "In this manner," says Follen in his memorial, "the Germans of North America can be successfully organized into a state to be represented in Congress, which shall become a model for the mother country and in many respects render it an important service in freeing it from the shackles of tyranny."

Through the activity of the government in arresting as political agitators a number of Follen's most active confederates his American project had to be abandoned for the time being, but it resulted ultimately in the formation of the Giessen Emigration Society, which sent a large colony to Warren County, Missouri, under the direction of Follen's younger brother in 1833. This was one of the earliest and most ambitious of those many unsuccessful attempts¹ to found German colonies in this country during the 30's and 40's of the past century.

While Follen was engaged in maturing his new plans his elder brother and his friend, Ludwig Snell, were suddenly arrested on suspicion of promoting revolutionary propaganda. Learning that a copy of his memorial had been found in Snell's possession and that he himself was to be arrested on the charge of being its author, he took hasty leave of his family and fled across the French frontier in the early part of January, 1820. The following verses,² written by one of his small group of Blacks, or possibly by himself, may well express his emotions

¹ Cf. T. S. Baker's account of these projects,—*Americana Germanica*, I, 62ff. Baker makes no mention of Karl Follen as the originator of this colonization movement.

² Cited by Haupt, 148.

as he departed from his home, henceforth to wander, a martyr to the cause of liberty and an exile from his native land:

Ich selbst ich will die Freiheit mir bewahren,
An ihrem heiligen Flammenlicht mich weiden,
Mit diesen Armen, diesen Sehnen streiten,
Nicht brache liegen in der Jugend Jahren.
O, wahrlich, mir thuts weh von Euch zu scheiden,
Die lieben Berg und Thäler fern zu missen,
Der alten Väter heilig Grab zu meiden.
Mit Schmerz und Thränen bin ich losgerissen.

Ein neues Vaterland geh ich zu finden,
Wo Vater Franklins frische Seele baute,
Die mündige Welt der eigenen Kraft vertraute,
Der Freiheit junges Licht sich will entzünden!
Da drüben wächst sie auf zur jungen Eiche.
Wir bringen Zunder zu den regen Flammen,
Zum neuen Kreuzzug zum gelobten Reiche!
Rom ist, wo freie Römer steh'n zusammen.

. After spending a few days in Strassburg Follen proceeded to Paris where he soon made the acquaintance of such men as Lafayette, D'Argenson, Cousin, Constant, and Grégoire. His association with these noted liberals served first of all to dispel his hatred of the French, which had been inspired in the German youth by Arndt, broadened his conceptions of the brotherhood of mankind, and confirmed him in his republican principles. According to Wit,¹ who met him in Paris at this time, his intimate association with members of the French Comité Directeur led him to begin preparations for a similar organization in Germany to cooperate with the French liberals; but his sojourn in France was of short duration, for the assassination of the Duke of Berry on the 13th of February, led to the expulsion of all foreigners who had no fixed occupation. Believing that he might still be able to promote the liberal movement, he went to Switzerland where he found refuge with the Countess of Benzal-Sternau, who had followed with deep interest his public career in Germany.

¹ *Fragmente*, I, 55.

In the autumn of this same year Follen secured a position as teacher of Latin and history in the Cantonal school of Chur, where his talent and genial nature won him the highest regard of his pupils and colleagues. In his lectures on history it was but natural that he should give occasional expression to his radical views on politics and religion, namely, the principles of freedom as he interpreted them from the life of Christ. This led to two momentous results. In the first place his ideas of political freedom were again reported to the rulers of Germany; consequently a demand was made by the Holy Alliance, assembled in council at Troppau, that he and all others engaged in revolutionary agitation be handed over to a tribunal of inquisition, a demand to which the Swiss government refused to accede. In the second place his religious views brought him into conflict with the Calvinistic clergy. Without entering into controversial theology he had endeavored in his lectures simply to trace the growth of Christianity and the great spiritual revolution effected by Christ's teachings of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This interpretation seemed a bit heretical to the orthodox party, who accordingly accused him of denying the divinity of Christ, the doctrine of original sin, and the total depravity of man. When he learned that the Council of Education was instituting a secret inquiry among his pupils he requested of the assembled evangelical synod a public hearing to defend the principles he had advanced. This request was cleverly evaded by a hasty adjournment of the synod, whereupon he forthwith resigned his position in the school.

Follen's reputation as a scholar and the highly complimentary recommendation¹ of the school board of Chur secured for him an appointment as lecturer on jurisprudence and metaphysics in the newly reorganized university of Basel whither he went in the autumn of 1821. Among the professors there he found several of his compatriots, who like himself had for political reasons been obliged to flee from Germany. In close communion with these kindred spirits he spent three busy

¹ Cf. *Works*, I, 110.

happy years, and his engagement to Anna de Lassaux¹ added a new charm to life. In addition to his academic duties he took part in the publication of DeWette's journal,² and in private proclaimed his gospel of freedom, seeking to instill into the hearts and minds of his students the doctrine of the natural rights of man. But this period of buoyant hope and joyous promise was soon to end, for Karl Follen was a proscribed man.

Switzerland was at that time the only free state on the continent, and from that stronghold of liberty he again took up his propaganda for the establishment of freedom and union in his native land. In conjunction with a few of his friends, as it seems,³ he founded a new political society and sent von Sprewitz, one of the Jena Burschenschafters, who was traveling in Switzerland, to organize branches in Germany. Although this so-called "Jünglingsbund" made little headway its existence was discovered by the police in 1823. Arrested in the spring of 1824 as one of its promoters, Wit⁴ turned state's evidence, declaring that Follen was the instigator of the new movement. Whether this was true or not the Prussian government, in order to stifle the growing spirit of freedom, not only forbade its subjects to attend the university of Basel, but in August, 1824, the Holy Alliance demanded again that Follen and others be handed over to the tribunal of Köpenick to answer to the charge of conspiring to subvert the monarchic status of Prussia. For a time the Swiss government refused to comply with this demand, but when the intimidating order was repeated it was thought more expedient to sacrifice individuals than to endanger the welfare of the whole state. Accordingly Follen was requested to leave the canton, which

¹ Cf. Follen-Briefe—*Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, XIV, 5.

² *Zeitschrift der wissenschaftlichen Religion*; to this Follen contributed two treatises, Ueber die Bestimmung des Menschen, and Ueber Spinoza's Lehre.

³ Haupt, 149.

⁴ *Fragmente*, II, 12ff. Rechtlieb *Zeitgeist*, II, 556ff., denies that Follen set this movement on foot.

he refused to do without a legal trial. If he had committed any offense he had the right, he contended, to be tried by a tribunal of the state to which he belonged. Inasmuch as he had become a citizen of the Republic and had never owed allegiance to the Holy Alliance, he maintained that the Swiss government was neither obliged nor entitled to deliver him up to the inquisition of Köpenick. He knew very well that the Holy Alliance wished to make an example of him in order to deter others from following his teachings, and that imprisonment or even death awaited him should he be arrested. On a previous visit to Paris his friend, Lafayette, had urged him to go to America, but he refused on the ground that a voluntary withdrawal from Basel would be construed as a tacit admission of guilt. When he learned, however, that his arrest had actually been ordered and that his safety lay only in flight he decided to seek refuge in the new world. Before leaving he requested of the university a public statement concerning his conduct in Switzerland; this was granted, and the certified copy¹ which was later sent to him shows that he was held in the highest esteem, not only as an ideal teacher by his pupils and colleagues, but by the magistrates of the Republic as a model citizen.

Through the aid of friends Follen secretly left Basel and made his escape in safety to Paris where he met a small party of German political fugitives among whom was his friend, Karl Beck. Convinced that men of liberal opinions were no longer safe even in Switzerland they decided to cast their lot with Follen in seeking freedom and happiness across the seas. In Paris Follen met his betrothed,² arranging with her to join him in America after adequate means of support could be found, and as a farewell expression both of his devotion to her and of his deep love of freedom addressed to her the following lines:

¹ Given in *Works*, I, 119f.

² Yielding to her father's wishes she soon after broke off the engagement; cf. Follen-Briefe, No. 13.

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Hast du mich lieb, o so gib mir die Hand;
Lass uns wandern, lass uns ziehen
Mit der Sonne nach Westen hin;
Dort an des Meeres andrem Strand,
Dort ist der Freiheit, dort der Menschheit Vaterland.

Follen and Beck reached Havre on the 1st of November and immediately went aboard the *Cadmus*, the same ship in which Lafayette had taken passage to America a few months earlier. It was with a mingled feeling of joy and sadness that Follen departed from all that was dear to him to begin life anew in a foreign land. As the shores of Europe gradually receded in the distance his long-cherished hopes for the freedom of his country vanished like a dream, but with undaunted courage he faced the unknown future that lay before him. Under the soothing, exalting influence of the boundless sea his dejection soon gave way to new hopes and aspirations, and his youthful dreams again seemed possible of realization. The wild music of wind and waves seemed to awaken in his soul a new sense of life, and in the joyous contemplation of his ideals his love of freedom again came to expression in the following lines,¹ the last poem he ever wrote in his native tongue:

Auch auf dem hölzernen Fische,
Hier mitten im Wassergezische,
Schwingt das Herz,
Frei von Schmerz.
Frei wie die Lerche sich himmelwärts.

Stürmt nur, ihr wilden Gewässer,
Wir werden nicht röter, nicht blässer,
Meergebraus,
Sturmgesaus,
Ist für die Tapfern ein Ohrenschmaus.

Wenngleich mit wildem Gelüsten
Am Mast die Wasser sich küssten,
Freiheitsmut,
Liebesglut,
Brennt auch in Sturm und in Wasserflut.

¹ *Works*, I, 127.

During the voyage Follen and Beck studied a German work on the Constitution of the United States and sought also to acquire some knowledge of the English language. On Sunday, the 19th of December, 1824, the *Cadmus* arrived at New York. As the ship approached the harbor Follen stood on deck, peering through the dense fog to catch his first glimpse of the promised land. From the distance came the sound of the Sabbath bells; then through a rift in the clouds the sun burst forth, lighting up the glittering spires of the city. So great was his joy and anxiety that he almost feared the splendid vision might vanish before he could set foot on shore; but when he finally found himself standing upon American soil he wished, as he afterwards stated,¹ to kneel upon the ground, and kiss it, and cling to it with his hands, lest it should even then escape his grasp.

PART TWO.

FOLLEN IN AMERICA.

After remaining about three weeks in New York Follen and Beck went to Philadelphia, acting upon the advice of Lafayette, who was at that time a guest of Congress in Washington and with whom Follen had begun a correspondence immediately after landing. Through the recommendation of Lafayette they soon received a visit² from Professor George Ticknor, on whom they made a most favorable impression. When Ticknor asked them for a written statement of their history and acquirements they confessed their inability to write well in English, but upon his suggestion produced the required documents written in correct and fluent Latin. Through Ticknor's influence Beck secured an immediate appointment as teacher of Latin and gymnastics in the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts. He remained there until 1829, and about two years later became professor of Latin in Harvard College.

¹ Ibid., I, 139.

² Cf. *Life, Letters and Journals of Ticknor*, I. 352.

Follen remained in Philadelphia nearly a year, devoting himself to the study of the language, manners and customs of the United States. The diary¹ which he kept at that time shows that he was a keen observer in matters pertaining to politics, religion, society, industry, art and literature. He was so pleased with the outlook of American democracy that he made immediate application for citizenship. It is most interesting to learn from the first letter² written to his parents shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia the impressions which the new country and its democratic institutions made upon this former revolutionist:

"The government interferes scarcely at all," he writes, "but acts merely as a defense against breaches of the law; and there is certainly no country where one lives more securely without passports, police officers, and soldiers than here. Almshouses and prisons are more perfect here than elsewhere. In education they make rapid progress. For the rest they let men alone; and thus everything is much better done than when it is accomplished by direction of the authorities. There are scarcely any taxes, for the government of the whole United States does not cost so much as that of one of our principalities. Any man can call together, by a public announcement, in the open squares an assembly of several thousand, in which petitions to the government may be discussed and its measures criticized; but as yet there has been no disorder or disturbance of the public peace in consequence. The government does not concern itself with the exercise of religion, speech, or the press except in so far as the rights of any might thereby be impaired. * * * Politics are here everyone's concern. There are here no state secrets; but the opinion is prevalent that the welfare of all is the concern of the so-called common man. * * * God be praised that we have here so much to do and that we find so rich an enjoyment in this glorious liberty."

¹ *Works*, I, 133ff., 153ff.

² Cf. Follen-Briefe, No. 9—*Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois*, XIV, 16; given in abridged form in *Works*, I, 144.

In view of this encouraging prospect Follen wisely gave no further thought to his earlier fantastic scheme of Germanizing America by founding a German state here, but unlike some of his compatriots dedicated himself without reserve to the interests and welfare of his adopted country. At first he was unable to decide upon any definite course of action. Through the recommendation of Lafayette he soon became acquainted with the distinguished jurist, Du Ponceau,¹ who introduced him to the leading men of Philadelphia and also suggested him to Jefferson as a suitable teacher of Roman law for the University of Virginia; on account of his imperfect knowledge of English and his unwillingness to live in a slave state he made no effort to secure this position. For a time he thought seriously of joining his former Giessen friend, Christian Sartorius, in Mexico; but thanks to the influence of his Philadelphia friends his great talents were fortunately retained in the service of American culture. In July he paid Beck a visit in Northampton and somewhat later spent a short time in New York where he made the acquaintance of Miss Sedgwick,² whose novel, "Redwood," had been his first textbook in the English language. After six months' residence in this country he had made such rapid progress in his studies that he began to write in English a course of lectures on civil law, which he hoped to deliver in Philadelphia; and this although he could, according to the statement of his wife, not utter a correct English sentence when he landed in New York. These lectures were ready to be delivered in October, and from a letter³ written to Beck at this time it may be inferred that Follen was seriously contemplating law as a permanent profession. If this decision had been made he would doubtless have won both fortune and reputation as a distinguished jurist, or even as a remarkable statesman; but about this time

¹ Peter Stephen Du Ponceau (1760-1844), a Frenchman by birth, who came to Philadelphia at the close of the Revolutionary war.

² Catherine Maria Sedgwick (1789-1867), writer of novels and stories depicting local customs and manners in New England. "Redwood" appeared in 1824.

³ *Works*, I, 156.

Ticknor offered him through Du Ponceau an instructorship in German at Harvard, assuring him also that his lectures on law would be highly appreciated in Boston. His acceptance of this position enabled him to enter upon a career in which he probably exerted a much greater influence in contributing to American intellectual life than would have been possible had he chosen the profession of law.

In December, 1825, Follen arrived at Cambridge, entering at once upon the duties of his new position. Besides his regular teaching he began to prepare text-books for his classes and endeavored above all to acquire a more perfect command of the English language. Meanwhile he attracted attention and interest in various quarters, introducing gymnastics in Boston and lecturing there also on civil law to an audience composed mostly of lawyers. Through Miss Sedgwick he became acquainted in the following year with Miss Eliza Cabot, the daughter of one of the best New England families and also a talented member of a brilliant literary circle. This acquaintance soon ripened into a warm friendship, culminating some two years later in marriage. Through Miss Cabot's influence Follen was admitted to her circle of literary friends, and through her he also made the acquaintance of Dr. Channing, which was the beginning of a life-long intimate friendship between these two men.

After a year's residence in Cambridge he again wrote to his parents the following significant lines,¹ which show the inner change that the new surroundings had produced in him and at the same time speak eloquently of his devotion to his adopted country: "I am well and my position here becomes every day more firm and agreeable in proportion as my new countrymen are assured that I am not one of the many adventurers and imposters, through whom the name of a foreigner has become suspected by the natives. They are convinced that my new country has always been the country of my principles; that I know how to respect the peculiarities of

¹ Follen-Briefe, No. 14—*Jahrbuch D. A. H. G.*, XIV, 36ff.; letter given in abridged form in *Works*, I, 164.

others, and that I attach myself cordially to good men, and particularly to affectionate family circles. It is now seven years since I left home, and I have not during this time, my seven years' private war against the great powers, been permitted to enter my father's house. But you know, dear father, that the principles on account of which I, together with others, have been persecuted, and which with many of my fellow-sufferers may have been opinions taken on trust, or mere freaks of an ill-regulated imagination,—that these principles have been with me matters of conscience and the result of laborious thought and study. Hence there is in this country, where law alone governs, no more quiet citizen than I. I should have lost my self-respect and deserved the contempt of my enemies had I acted according to their principles. Hence in the storms of misfortune the infallible magnet in my breast has never wavered, but remained fixed as the pole-star, to which it points. * * *

"I would remark that since I became a citizen here I have publicly renounced, under oath, all further connection with foreign governments. Therefore I am as to Europe politically dead and continue to live only for my family. The hatred against the governments on the other side, which I brought on board ship, has changed into entire indifference; and I only wish that my persecutors would allow me the blessing of their forgetfulness."

In the summer of 1828 Follen entered the Unitarian ministry and for several years thereafter preached as a substitute in various churches in and around Boston. About this same time he made known to Dr. Bowditch, President of the Corporation, his intentions to seek a regular pastorate since his salary of five hundred dollars from the College was insufficient to maintain a home. Both Bowditch and Higginson strongly opposed this, assuring him that the College could not dispense with his services and that adequate provision would be made for him; accordingly he was given in addition to his regular work in German an instructorship in ethics and history in the Divinity School. He was induced to accept this offer, accord-

ing to his wife's statement,¹ from the assurance that a full professorship would soon be given him. This appointment imposed upon him the heavy task of instructing in two more subjects; but still he was able to work on his text-books, to continue his preaching, and to devote some time also to purely literary endeavor, contributing to various literary magazines such as the *Christian Examiner* and the *American Quarterly Review*.

From the year 1829 we possess a long letter² written to his father, giving an intimate view of his life at Harvard and breathing the contentment of one whose dreams of freedom seemed to have been realized, in which he makes the following observation: "You see by this, dear father, that I have not departed from your ways in regard to laboring in my profession. You must know that

Im Klötzespalten werd' ich stets dir weichen;
Im Sägen aber such' ich meinesgleichen.

I owe to this, my constant occupation, my firm health, and, as you see, a certain facility and skill in doggerel and double rhymes. For the rest I produce more realities here than poems,—probably because my boldest European poems are here realities." In this same letter he again speaks about his growing love for America, as follows: "I am so happy in the midst of my dear family. The time will come, I hope, when the governments on the other side will believe that I do not wish to meddle in their affairs, which concern me not at all; and then I shall hope, when they can promise me a safe protection, to find time to visit you. I pray you yet again, dear father, if it is too narrow for you there to come with my mother to me and to your American daughter. My income, though small, is sufficient for us. And then I root myself daily more deeply in this native soil of freedom and truth, and I am now as good as certain that I shall wish you joy,

¹ *Works*, I, 253; cf. also Dr. Peabody's *Harvard Reminiscences*, 122.

² Follen-Briefe, No. 16, *Jahrbuch D. A. H. G.*, XIV, 42ff.; given in abridged form in *Works*, I, 263.

next April, over your first-born American grandson. The 18th of January is a festival for me. I become then a citizen of the United States."

In March, 1830, Follen was admitted to all the rights and privileges of an American citizen. How deeply this event, to which he had looked forward for five years, impressed him may be seen from the following account¹ of his wife: "He brought me the certificate, that he was an American citizen, with a glow of joy in his face and declared the naturalized foreigner alone had a right to boast of his citizenship, for with him it was choice. When not long afterwards, on the 11th of April, his son was born, he said: 'Now I am an American.' For a long time he had been unwilling to be called a foreigner. There was none of the feeling of the foreigner in his heart."

In the summer of the same year he learned that the professorship in ethics, which had been promised him, was to be given to Dr. John Palfrey in consequence of a reorganization of the Divinity School, whereupon he informed the Corporation that he would accept any advantageous position offered him elsewhere unless more suitable provisions were made for him in the College, since his four-fold occupation of preaching, and teaching in three different branches intellectually quartered him. Unwilling to lose so valuable an instructor from their teaching staff the Corporation thereupon offered him a professorship in the Department of Latin, but he declined the offer from the conviction that this was not his proper calling. Upon invitation from the Unitarian Society of Newburyport he supplied their pulpit during the summer vacation, receiving at the end of his engagement a proposal to become their permanent pastor, but at the same time he was notified by the Corporation that a professorship of German literature had been established at Harvard for a period of five years, and that he would be appointed to fill the position in case he cared to return. Although he preferred to devote himself to the field of ethics, or exclusively to the ministry,

¹ *Works*, I, 267.

he accepted the call from Harvard, believing that this new sphere of activity would give him an enlarged opportunity to contribute to the intellectual life of New England by opening up to it more effectively than had hitherto been done the treasures of German culture.

With this in view Follen now entered with great zeal into the teaching of German literature in the autumn of 1830. In addition to his regular academic instruction he gave public lectures also on German literature and philosophy in Boston, and accepted frequent invitations to preach in various churches. In the autumn of 1832 he was called upon to deliver the funeral oration¹ on Dr. Spurzheim, the celebrated German phrenologist, who had died in Boston while engaged on a lecturing tour in this country; and two years later he made before the workingmen of Boston an address² introductory to the fourth course of Franklin lectures. It was at this time also that he espoused the cause of antislavery, becoming one of the most active leaders in the Garrisonian Abolition movement. Concerning these years between 1830 and 1835 his wife notes³ in her biography that it was his custom to work until after midnight, with the cradle of his infant son by his side. Many of his best lectures were written in this way; through all his various trials he had always been hopeful, but now his soul seemed overflowing with joy.⁴ He felt certain that his professorship would be renewed at the end of the five years or that some other satisfactory position would be offered him. All his old love of academic life revived, and it was his one purpose and desire to be a truly useful servant to the institution in which he was employed. Not only his attachment to the university, but also his loyalty to his new country grew stronger as indicated by the follow-

¹ Given in full in *Works*, V, 153ff.

² *Ibid.*, V, 288ff.

³ *Works*, I, 301.

⁴ In his *Harvard Reminiscences*, 122, Dr. Peabody remarks that the Follen home was at this time one of the first social centers in Harvard University life, and that the Harvard students regarded their frequent visits there as among the greatest of their social privileges.

ing passage of a letter¹ written to his father in May, 1832: "My attachment to this glorious country increases daily, although my love for my old fatherland does not grow cold. Many glorious productions flourish and increase in Europe, but man, who is there only a hot-house plant, finds here a native soil."

But Follen's hope of a permanent position of service and usefulness in Harvard was not to be realized. At the end of the period for which it had been endowed his professorship was discontinued, whereupon he severed his connection with the College and sought employment elsewhere. From this time on he was variously employed. At first he became private tutor to the two young sons of James Perkins, a position which for several reasons he resigned at the end of a year's successful service. In the summer of 1836 he and his family made a western journey with a number of friends including Miss Harriet Martineau, the distinguished English writer. The party intended to descend the Ohio river in order to visit Paul Follen's German colony in Missouri, but on account of the proslavery animosity against Miss Martineau this visit was abandoned; consequently the party took a more northerly route, traveling by way of Niagara falls and the great lakes as far as Chicago. In this city Follen was asked to address a small body of Unitarians, who were desirous of founding a church. His powerful preaching impressed them so well that they raised a subscription of twenty thousand dollars to build a meeting-house and extended to him an urgent invitation to become their pastor, which, however, he did not accept. After returning to Boston Follen took up his residence in Stockbridge where for want of other occupation he gave lessons in German, wrote for several literary magazines, and began also a treatise on psychology, a Science of the Soul as he called it,—a book which he had long wished to write and for which he had collected abundant material even before coming to America. From this time on he devoted all his leisure to this project, but death overtook him before the work

¹ *Works*, I, 300.

was completed; only the introductory chapters ¹ were put into final form.

In the autumn of 1836 Follen was called to occupy the pulpit of the First Unitarian Church in New York City. This was the beginning of one of the most happy and active periods of his life. Besides his regular pastoral duties he still wrote for various journals, gave public lectures on literary, religious and sociological subjects, and continued his active service in the antislavery propaganda. For a time he was seriously considering the founding a new periodical to be called "All Sides," which was to be a non-partisan paper, a medium of independent thought, devoted to the spreading of the gospel of liberty. The plan ² drawn up by him grouped the subjects to be treated under three heads: religion, morals and education, law and politics; but for want of financial support he was unable to carry out his project. The success with which he met in his pastorate caused him to believe that he had at last found his proper and most useful sphere of activity, but when after a year and a half of devoted service to the cause of religion and philanthropy in New York his congregation became displeased with his bold and fearless attitude toward the slavery question he resigned his position and returned with his family to Boston in the spring of 1838.

For the next two years, the remainder of his life, Follen managed through the strictest economy to eke out a living by dint of teaching private classes, giving public lectures, and filling various pulpits. His influential friend, Dr. Channing, seems to have been unable to help him to a suitable pastorate.³ Under these discouraging circumstances his heart turned again with such longing toward the old home and the old friends across the sea that he made preparations in the summer of 1839 for a visit to Switzerland, but before final arrangements for the

¹ Given in *Works*, III, 323ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 634ff.

³ Dr. Peabody says in his *Harvard Reminiscences*, 123, that Follen's zeal in the antislavery cause probably prevented his permanent settlement in one of the Boston churches in which he was a favorite preacher.

journey were made he received an invitation from the Unitarian Society of East Lexington to become their pastor. Although the salary was only six hundred dollars Follen accepted the offer and moved his family at once to his new parish where he designed and personally supervised the construction of a new house of worship. Again it seemed that his longing for a permanent field of useful service to his fellow-men was to be realized, but fate would not have it so. In response to a call to deliver a course of lectures on German literature before the Merchants' Library Association in New York, an invitation extended only to distinguished lecturers, Follen accompanied by his family went to that city the latter part of December. He had promised to return to Lexington in time for the dedication of the new church, which was set for the 15th of January, but a sudden indisposition of his wife while in New York rendered it inadvisable to make the return trip until a later date. Under these circumstances he requested that the dedication be postponed a few days until his wife would be able to make the journey. Since his parish would not make this concession he decided to leave his family in New York and to make the trip alone rather than to fail in the fulfillment of his promise. On the 13th of January, 1840, he boarded the steamboat, Lexington, for Boston; but on that dark winter night the steamer caught fire on Long Island Sound, and Karl Follen along with nearly all on board found a watery grave.

CHAPTER I.

HIS PROMOTION OF GERMAN STUDIES IN NEW ENGLAND.

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

That the higher intellectual life of the English settlers of this country was dependent chiefly upon the cultural traditions of the mother country seems natural despite the fact that England did practically nothing to promote it. The colonial colleges, especially those of New England, were not only modeled after the English plan, but the character of their methods of

instruction was essentially that which prevailed at Oxford and Cambridge. Soon after the War of Independence we notice, however, a growing dissatisfaction with English cultural ideas. The most interesting proof of this is furnished by the plan¹ of a national university, devised by Dr. Benjamin Rush in 1788. This eminent scientist, who had traveled in Europe, advocates in his plan the founding of a federal institution to train the American youth, not along the traditional English lines, but in the branches of learning best calculated to prepare young men for all the private and public duties of American citizens. Among the subjects of instruction he names are: government, history, agriculture and commerce, natural philosophy, athletics, philosophy and foreign languages. These branches, he says, should be taught by way of lectures, which was of course the method employed in the German universities. Concerning philology and modern languages he expresses himself as follows: "Instruction in this branch of literature will become the more necessary in America, as our intercourse must soon cease with the bar, the stage, and the pulpits of Great Britain from whence we received our knowledge of the pronunciation of the English language. Even modern English books should cease to be the models of style in the United States. The present is the age of simplicity of writing in America. The turgid style of Johnson—the purple glare of Gibbon—and even the studied and thick-set metaphors of Junius are equally unnatural and should not be admitted into our country The German and French languages should be taught in this university. The many excellent books which are written in both these languages, upon all subjects, more especially upon those which relate to the advancement of national improvement of all kinds, will render a knowledge of them an essential part of the education of a legislator of the United States."

It is not improbable that the ideas of Dr. Rush influenced Washington's later plan of a national university.

While neither of these plans was realized the idea of academic reform was taken up in the second and third decades

¹ *American Museum*, IV, 442ff. (1788).

of the 19th century, which marks a new era both in the material and spiritual history of the United States. This "era of good feeling" following the War of 1812 was characterized by an enlarged national consciousness and by a rapid increase in commerce and industry, culminating not only in great material prosperity, but also in a spontaneous outburst of a larger, freer, intellectual life. This showed itself in various ways, especially in the rising demand for a national literature. In his excellent "Remarks on National Literature," written in 1823, W. E. Channing not only denied the general assumption that English literature was sufficient, but insisted on the need of a national American literature and also of the best thought of Continental Europe in order to nurture it. "Our reading" he thinks,¹ "is confined too much to English books. . . . In this we err. We ought to know the different modes of viewing and discussing great subjects in different nations. . . We fear, however, that at the present moment English books want much which we need. The intellect of that nation is turned now to what is called practical and useful subjects. . . We find little profound or fervid thinking expressed in the higher forms of its literature. . . . We see an almost total indifference to intellectual and moral science. In England there is a great want of philosophy in the true sense of that word."

The center of culture which had hitherto been in Philadelphia and afterwards in New York now shifted to Boston. Through its constantly broadening mental horizon New England awoke to the consciousness that other nations besides England and France possessed standards and achievements worthy of emulation; hence it threw open its doors to the potent influence of German philosophy and literature. "The influences brought to bear on New England," says Barrett Wendell,² were almost innumerable. The most important was, probably, German thought at a time when German philosophy was most metaphysical and German literature most romantic."

¹ Channing's *Works*, 137.

² *Literary History of America*, 295f.

It is well known that the attention of New England was first called to Germany by Mme. de Staël's famous work, "De l'Allemagne," an English translation of which was published in New York in 1814. Through the author's statements¹ that all the North of Germany was filled with the most learned universities of Europe, that the literary glory of Germany depended upon these institutions, and that in no other country, not even in England, did the people have so many means of bringing their faculties to perfection, a wholly new world was opened up to New England. The many pertinent observations on German education made a deep impression upon young Americans, who in consequence decided to study at German universities. There can be no doubt that Mme. de Staël's book was a great factor in turning the tide of American students from England to the German seats of learning.

The first New England students who visited Germany were George Ticknor, Edward Everett, and George Bancroft. It is a most interesting fact that these pioneers of the new movement not only brought back with them an increased amount of knowledge and a new conception of culture and scholarship, but also the greatest enthusiasm for German educational ideas, which they now were eager to transplant upon American soil. This is shown by Ticknor's introduction of radical reforms at Harvard, of which Thomas W. Higginson could truly say:² "They laid the foundation of non-English training, not only in Boston, but in America, by taking the whole American educational system away from English traditions and substituting the German method." The influence of the German university idea as developed by W. von Humboldt, Fichte, and Schleiermacher is evident also in Edward Everett's address on the "Objects of a University Education."³ How deeply George Bancroft was impressed with the German educational system may finally be seen by his founding of the

¹ Cf. Chapter VIII.

² *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXIX, 490.

³ Everett's *Orations and Speeches*, II, 493ff.

Round Hill School¹ after the model of the German Gymnasium.

Finally there was, perhaps most potent of all, the direct influence of native Germans who, on account of political persecution, had been compelled to seek refuge in the new world. Many of these exiles sought positions as teachers in American schools and colleges, becoming in this way the early pioneers in spreading a knowledge of their literary, philosophical and educational ideals. Among those German scholars who first paved the way for an appreciation of German culture in this country were Karl Beck, Franz Lieber, and above all, Karl Follen.

When George Ticknor became professor of modern languages at Harvard in 1819 only French and Spanish were taught in his department, but thoroughly imbued with the German spirit he desired to add German also to the course of study. While on a visit to Washington in the spring of 1825 he chanced to make the acquaintance of Lafayette, who as has already been stated called his attention to Beck and Follen. Desirous of securing a teacher of German and believing, too, that a foreign language should be taught by a native, he secured the services of Follen, who thus became the first official instructor of German at Harvard College. When Follen began his instruction he found himself greatly hampered by the lack of suitable text-books. "There are two things," he writes² to his friend Beck, "on which I should like to have your opinion. I want a German Reader. Professor Ticknor is of the same opinion as I, that we two should make a German Chrestomathy, which might at the same time serve as a sketch of the history of German literature. Professor Ticknor possesses a very rich library. If we add to this what we might obtain in other places we might furnish something useful. Ask Mr. Bancroft for his opinion. The book must be such that it may be introduced into other institutions, and thus at least pay its expenses. The second point is a German Gram-

¹ Founded by Bancroft and Cogswell at Northampton, Mass., in 1823.

² *Works*, I, 160.

mar in English. The Grammar of Rowbotham seems to me more useful than that of Noehden, but even that is capable of great improvement, I know we have before this spoken of this subject, and you thought to prepare a Grammar. I know not whether you have done anything about it. At any rate note everything that occurs to you. I will do the same and communicate my observations to you."

To supply this first want Follen began at once to prepare a reader¹ for use in his classes. According to the preface the two-fold purpose of this book was to furnish the teacher with reading matter from recognized German masterpieces for the illustration of the rules and peculiarities of the language and to give the pupils a foretaste and some conception of classical German literature. As an introduction to the period from which the reading selections are taken the author gives in a nutshell an excellent sketch of the history of German literature, showing his intimate acquaintance with the subject and indicating at the same time the historical method which he pursued in his teaching. He divides German literature into three periods: the Mediaeval, the Reformation, and the Modern. He characterizes the first period as the romantic age from the fact that it produced a great mass of epics and lyrics whose chief content was faith, honor, and love, which gave them, in his opinion, their peculiar romantic stamp. The chief causes conducive of this golden age of the minnesong and epics of chivalry, he explains, were the influence of Provençal and ancient Scandinavian poetry, the institution of knighthood, and the encouragement of the art-loving Hohenstaufens. Through the breaking up of the feudal system the romantic spirit gradually degenerated during the 14th and 15th centuries into mere affectation and insipidity. In the 16th century, however, the revival of classical learning and the Reformation gave German culture a new direction. While the romantic age was characterized by products of creative genius, the protestant period was distinguished by the promotion of the exact sciences through thorough and unbiased investigation in theology, philosophy,

¹ *Deutsches Lesebuch für Anfänger*, Cambridge, 1826, pp. 252.

jurisprudence, and medicine; but although Luther's translation of the Bible was of the highest importance for the development of the German language, no poetry was produced that could vie with that of the middle ages. Gradually German literature degenerated into a weak imitation of the French through the influence of the Silesian Schools. In spite of the opposition of the Swiss School of critics the trend was further promoted by Gottsched until in the middle of the 18th century Lessing's keen and many-sided criticism finally shattered the idols of French taste, awakening that spirit of freedom and that aspiration for perfection which breathes through the masterpieces of modern German literature. Follen explains that Lessing accomplished for German literature what Luther did for the German Church. Just as Kant blazed a new way in philosophy, and the protestant spirit replaced protestant dogmatism, likewise appeared in the field of literature writers of independent spirit, who turned to antiquity for inspiration. The treasures of ancient Greek and German literature and art were now brought to light, becoming models for the best modern works, from which are taken the selections for this reader.

This attractive preface was well adapted to arouse the keenest interest of the student in this hitherto unexplored fairyland of German literature. The selections of the reader consist of about 150 pages of prose and 20 of poetry taken from about 20 of the most famous writers from Lessing to Körner. In his choice of material the author had naturally to choose comparatively simple pieces adapted to the needs of beginners rather than to present typical examples of the most finished literary productions, but at the same time he aimed especially to introduce his students into the spirit of German literature. This is shown clearly by the nature of the selections from both the classic and romantic writers of Germany. He begins with some of Lessing's early "Fabeln," which are followed by several of Krammacher's "Parabeln" and some of Herder's beautiful "Paramythen." Then Schiller is introduced with characteristic extracts from the "Geisterseher" and the "Abfall der Niederlande," Novalis with a significant passage from "Heinrich von Ofterdingen," and Wachenroder with

a chapter from the "Herzensergiessungen eines Kunstliebenden Klosterbruders." Goethe is represented by interesting fragments from his "Italienische Reise" and "Wilhelm Meister," Wieland by a chapter from his "Abderiten," Jean Paul by extracts from various novels, and A. W. Schlegel by a lecture on Shakespeare's "Macbeth." The specimens of German poetry in the second part of the book show an equally refined taste and comprehensive knowledge of German literature.

This reader was the first American school edition of German classics, hence a landmark in the early college curriculum. From this simple book, which was still used at Harvard during the sixties of the past century, many of the great leaders of American thought drew their inspiration for German literature and philosophy. It is doubtful whether a single one of the many German readers which have appeared since, and which have been constructed according to the latest "methods," can boast of similar results. Critical notices¹ from various liter-

¹ *U. S. Lit. Gazette*, Sept., 1826, 458: "Such an introduction to the study of the German language as is furnished by the work before us, was much needed. An acquaintance with this language is becoming daily more important to every man who wishes to keep pace with the progress of knowledge. In all its departments, German students are the most assiduous labourers, and, as a body, furnish the largest contributions to its stock. The literary treasures of this nation are vast, varied, and rapidly multiplying, and demand the attentive study of every one who desires to excel in any branch of intellectual labour. The metaphysician will find it the very home of profound speculation, the native land of intellectual, as truly as of physical gymnastics. For the lover of natural science, the patient research of the German character has accumulated a rich storehouse of facts. The classical scholar has been long familiar with its massy erudition, and, more lately, with its deep investigation into the spirit of antiquity. The professional man, the student of law, physic, or theology, may satisfy the keenest appetite with the fruits of German toil. The lover of belles lettres will here meet with a fresh and beautiful literature, formed by, and breathing the spirit of the age, exulting in the consciousness of vigour and progress, not made up of beautiful relics, but of the finished productions of modern art, equally splendid, and better suited to the wants and the taste of the times. Now, rich, and rapidly increasing, it opens a wide and important field to the scholar of every nation, more especially to nations of German origin. The English and their American descendants find in it much that is akin to their old modes of expression, of thought, and of feeling. Their domestic manners, language, and religion all tend to assimilate them with the German character, rather than with that of the South of Europe. The attentive study which the Germans have bestowed upon English literature, and the

ary magazines of the time indicate that it was considered a most valuable and acceptable book.

In the preface to the reader the author promises to supplement the collection, in case the book should find favor, by another containing pieces better adapted to advanced study. In 1833 there appeared in Cambridge a small volume¹ containing "Maria Stuart," "Tasso" and "Egmont" without any critical matter; it was printed by Charles Folsom, the university printer, and the "advertisement" merely states that the text is well adapted to follow Follen's "Lesebuch," and is designed for students of Harvard. This was the first of Schiller's and Goethe's dramas prepared for advanced classes in American schools. In view of the fact that Follen had promised something of this sort, and was also in this same year engaged in editing Carlyle's "Life of Schiller," it seems very probable that he was the compiler of this work also.

After completing his Reader Follen began at once the preparation of a German Grammar.² The preface of this work

copious infusion of its spirit into their own, increase its interest to men whose taste has been formed upon the classics of England.

"Esteeming the literature of Germany, as we do, we are glad to see the study of it becoming more and more common among our countrymen. The book before us is valuable to beginners, supplying a deficiency which has been hitherto much felt, the want of a proper collection of reading-lessons. The few German books within the reach of the greater part of young students here, afford them little opportunity of selecting those most suited to their wants, or of learning the various powers of the language. They needed a work of this kind, consisting of extracts from distinguished authors, arranged according to their relative difficulty, and exhibiting specimens of their different merits."

North Am. Review, Jan., 1827, XXIV, 251: "This is one of the pleasantest and best selections we are acquainted with for the purpose of introducing the beginner to the knowledge of a foreign literature. This object is well attained; and although a task of no very formidable nature, yet it is one not unworthy of the attention of the learned scholar, who has prepared the book, and to whom we are indebted for contributing his efforts to increase the means of cultivating one of the most useful and important languages of the present day."

¹ Cf. *Americana Germanica*, New Series, III, No. 4, 125.

² *A Practical Grammar of the German Language* by Dr. Charles Follen, Instructor in the German language at Harvard College, Boston, 1828.

opens with a short discussion of the history and actual present state of the German language, followed by some general observations on the main German grammarians from Gottsched to Grimm. Gottsched's merits, he says, cannot be denied, but they are far surpassed by those of Adelung. Grimm's historical grammar is characterized as a profound inquiry into the general foundation of the language; the work of Harnisch as a metaphysical investigation abounding in deep ingenious remarks which sometimes run into a sort of philological mysticism; and that of Heinsius is valuable chiefly on account of its practical nature. The main body of the work is based upon the grammars¹ of Noehden and Rowbotham and is divided into three main parts: Elements, Syntax, and Prosody. The Elements are divided into orthography and parts of speech. In his classification of consonants Follen deviated from general usage by ranking *d*, *t*, *l* and *n* with the palatals and *r* with the linguals. In dealing with the parts of speech he begins with the article and treats successively nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions. Similar to Heinsius' scheme of declension, he groups the nouns into three classes: all feminines; all masculines having the genitive singular in *n* or *en*; and all masculines and neuters whose genitive singular ends in *s* (*s*, *es*, *us*, *eus*). In dealing with the verb the primary tenses, then the secondary, are treated; but instead of adopting the new term "weak" and "strong," as introduced by Grimm, those of "regular" and "irregular" are retained. The treatise on prosody, based for the most part on the opinions of Voss and Schlegel, was introduced "in order to contribute to the pleasure of those lovers of poetry," who were becoming interested more and more in the polite literature of Germany.

Although Follen was no philologist in the strict sense of the word he was familiar with the history of grammar in Germany and especially with the works of the Grimm brothers as

¹ These were the grammars commonly used in England and were derived from German grammars, especially that of Adelung. Follen characterizes them as weak in many respects, but endeavors to embody the most valuable parts of them in his own work.

indicated by his remarks ¹ on the relationship between the German and English languages. His historical grasp of the subject eminently qualified him for a work of this kind. The grammar is, therefore, not only a thorough scientific treatise; but the fact that it passed through many revised editions ² indicates also that it was extensively used. It was the first grammar of the German language ³ that came into general use in American schools, and in its day was considered one of the best in this country.

In the preface to the third edition of the grammar Follen speaks as follows about another text-book for the study of German: "I am now preparing for the press the Gospel of St. John in German, with a literal interlinear translation for beginners, on a plan somewhat different from the Hamiltonian method.⁴ I hope that this book, together with the Grammar and Reader, will form a sufficient preparatory course to enable the faithful student to enter upon a thorough and extensive study of German literature." This book appeared in Boston in 1835 as indicated by a short notice in the *American Quarterly Register*,⁵ which speaks of it as "a welcome present to all beginners in the German language."

Concerning this first attempt to introduce German instruction into Harvard Dr. A. P. Peabody gives the following interesting account:⁶ "German had never been taught in Harvard College before; and it was with no little difficulty that a volunteer class of eight was found desirous, or at least willing, to

¹ Cf. Inaugural Address, *Works*, V.

² A comparison of the first three editions shows that the revisions consist of expansions and additions, contractions and omissions, and different arrangement of material, but these changes affected rather the manner of presentation than the material itself. Each had approximately 280 pages. The 21st revised edition appeared in Boston in 1859.

³ The first German grammar in English in America was a reprint of the London edition of Bachmair's grammar, Phila., 1772. *A German Grammar* appeared also in Phila., 1788. Cf. Circular of Infor., No. 3, 106, U. S. Bureau of Ed., 1913.

⁴ For an account of this new method, cf. *Westminster Review*, 1829, X, 284ff.

⁵ Vol. IX, 77.

⁶ *Harvard Reminiscences*, 117ff.

avail themselves of his (Follen's) services. I was one of that class. We were looked upon with very much the amazement with which a class in some obscure tribal dialect of the remotest Orient would be now regarded. We knew of but two or three persons in New England who could read German; though there were probably many more of whom we did not know. There were no German books in the book-stores. A friend gave me a copy of Schiller's "Wallenstein," which I read as soon as I was able to do so, and then passed it from hand to hand among those who could obtain nothing else to read. There was no attainable class-book that could be used as a Reader. A few copies of Noehden's Grammar were imported, and a few copies I forget of whose Pocket Dictionary, fortunately too copious for an Anglo-Saxon pocket, and suggesting the generous amplitude of the Low Dutch costume, as described in Irving's mythical 'History of New York.' The German Reader for Beginners, compiled by our teacher, was furnished to the class in single sheets as it was needed, and was printed in Roman type, there being no German type within easy reach.¹ There could not have been a happier introduction to German literature than this little volume. It contained choice extracts in prose, all from writers that still hold an unchallenged place in the hierarchy of genius, and poems from Schiller, Goethe, Herder, and several poets of kindred, if inferior, fame. But in the entire volume Dr. Follen rejoiced especially in several battle-pieces from Körner, the soldier and martyr of liberty, whom we then supposed to be our teacher's fellow-soldier, though, in fact, he fell in battle when Dr. Follen was just entering the University. I never have heard recitations which have inspired me so strongly as the reading of these pieces by Dr. Follen, who would put into them all of the heart and soul that had made him too much a lover of his country to be suffered to dwell in it. He appended to the other poems in the first edition of the Reader, anonymously, a death song² in memory of Körner, which we all

¹ A second edition in German type was printed in 1831.

² This elegy was first published in the *Freye Stimmen*, No. 36. Follen considered this poem as one of his best productions.

knew to be his own, and which we read so often and so feelingly that it sank indelibly into permanent memory; and I find that after an interval of sixty years it is as fresh in my recollection as the hymns that I learned in my childhood.

"Dr. Follen was the best of teachers. Under him we learned the grammar of the language, in great part, *in situ*,—forms and constructions, except the most elementary, being explained to us as we met them in our reading lessons, and explained with a clearness and emphasis that made it hard to forget them. At the same time he pointed out all that was specially noteworthy in our lessons, and gave us, in English much better than ours, his own translations of passages of peculiar interest or beauty. He bestowed great pains in bringing our untried organs into use in the more difficult details of pronunciation, particularly in the o, the u, the r, and the ch, on which he took us each separately in hand."

In regard to the library facilities for work in German at that time there are many conflicting statements. In 1817 Harvard possessed scarcely 20,000 volumes all told. In that year Edward Everett brought from Germany a number of books which laid the foundation of a German library. To these were added about the same time a large number of scientific works on American geography and history, purchased by Mr. I. Thorndike from Prof. Ebeling's library¹ in Hamburg, and this collection was increased in 1819 by a thirty-volume set of Goethe's works.² It is quite probable, however, that no literary works besides Goethe's were accessible to the public, hence we may conclude that Peabody's statement represents pretty nearly the true status of affairs. Ticknor's private

¹ Cf. *American Monthly Review*, March, 1832.

² These books were presented to the library by Goethe himself. The gift was accompanied by a letter now extant only in translation, as follows: "The above poetical and scientific works are presented to the library of the university of Cambridge in New England as a mark of deep interest in its high literary character and in the successful zeal it has displayed through so long a course of years for the promotion of solid and elegant learning." Cf. Viereck, *Report of Com. of Ed.*, 1907, 552.

library contained a good collection of German books according to one of Follen's letters to Beck.¹ The coming of Follen to Harvard did much to increase enthusiasm for things German² and from this time on the number of German books increased rapidly in Boston. According to its Catalogue the Boston Athenæum already possessed in 1827 a few translations from such writers as Goethe, Schiller, Herder, and the Schlegels. To these were added at this time the works in the original of Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Lessing, Jacobi, Wieland, Novalis, Tieck, Uhland, Richter, A. W. and Fr. Schlegel. By 1831 the Harvard library contained in addition to the works above named those of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Schleiermacher.

That Follen at once made a good impression at Harvard is attested by Professor Ticknor, who wrote to a friend in 1826 as follows:³ "Our German teacher, Dr. Follen, a young man who left his country for political reasons, is a fine fellow, an excellent scholar, and teaches German admirably. He is a modest, thorough, faithful German scholar, who will do good among us and be worth your knowing." Follen possessed the rare gift of winning the love and esteem of all who came into his presence. The powerful influence which he exerted upon his friends was due as much to the magic of his personality as to his broad scholarship;; and he accomplished as much for his pupils through the enthusiasm and inspiration which he aroused in them as through the knowledge which he imparted. These qualities made him one of the most popular and successful teachers at Harvard. From the very outset he was admitted into the circle of Boston's most distinguished men and women, and was always a welcome guest at their social gatherings, reading circles, and educational meetings. Numerous entries in the diary⁴ which he kept for a few months during the winter of 1827-'28, show that the conversation of these gatherings often turned to topics of German art, literature, and

¹ *Works*, I, 161.

² Cf. Miss Peabody's *Reminiscences of Channing*, 339.

³ *Life, Letters and Journal*, I, 351.

⁴ *Works*, I, 182ff.

philosophy,—subjects in which he became a guide and interpreter to Boston's intellectual circles at a time when the study and appreciation of German culture was beginning to be awakened in New England. For example, at one of these meetings he spent the evening discussing with his friends the history and character of German art and literature in general. Several evenings he entertained the company by reading and explaining portions of Gower's translation of "Faust," thus arousing their interest in the study of Goethe. So effective was his reading and interpretation that his delighted audience had to admit that none but Shakespeare had written with the power displayed by the great German. On other occasions he gave descriptions of German student life and discussed the works of such writers as Herder, Kant, and Jean Paul. By means of correspondence with some of the most scholarly men of the country Follen was able to enlarge the sphere of his influence in extending a knowledge of German culture to still wider circles. With J. Q. Adams, who was a connoisseur and admirer of German literature, he carried on an intimate correspondence, in which he acted in the capacity of guide and critic, answering many questions and giving much information in general pertaining to German writers. To Mr. Tracy, the translator of Fouque's "Undine" he gave encouragement and much practical assistance not only through his critical annotations of the text, but also by his explanation of many obscure allusions and difficult passages.

Follen not only acted as interpreter of German literature, but had many valuable ideas also concerning German educational methods. Miss Elizabeth Peabody, who was at that time a teacher in Boston and later became the pioneer of the Kindergarten movement in this country, profited greatly no doubt by her conversations with him on educational matters. She relates ¹ that in the autumn of 1827 began a series of informal meetings, sometimes at Dr. Channing's and sometimes at the home of Jonathan Phillips, for discussing the general subject of the education of children. Among those who at-

¹ *Reminiscences of Channing*, 250.

tended the meetings were Dr. and Mrs. Channing, Mr. Phillips, Dr. Follen, the two Peabody sisters, and occasionally Mr. G. F. Thayer and Mr. Wm. Russell, editor of the *Journal of Education*. The conversation ranged over every department of education, inquiring into the comparative study of languages, ancient and modern, and into science, history, fiction, and poetry as means of education. Miss Peabody adds that three minds so harmoniously yet so utterly different in their discipline, so entirely self-determined and so independent as Channing's, Follen's, and Phillips' made these discussions very rich. Miss Peabody relates further¹ that in all educational discussions Follen earnestly maintained that the child should be handled not with reference to his future, but to his present perfection; that the father of the man is the perfect *child* in the balance of childish beauty, and not the child prematurely developed into a man; that education which does the latter both destroys the child and dwarfs the man. Froebel's principles were thus suggested, says Miss Peabody, and one of the questions discussed among them was how to employ in their childish pleasures the faculties, mechanical, imaginative, and scientific without taking the children out of the child-life of love and joy.

According to Miss Peabody,² Follen as well as Channing and Phillips advocated the development of the child's faculties for personal investigation, whether in nature or in language, before burdening the memory with other men's words. All three aimed at moral and intellectual freedom. Channing argued³ for the study of the ancient languages on the ground that language is the first creation of the human mind and, if taught by what he called the reasonable method, that is, by comparing the new idiom with the vernacular as is done in translating, with which he thought language study should begin, puts the mind into possession of itself. Follen on the other hand, who had his fill of Greek and Latin in his German

¹ Ibid., 256.

² Ibid., 264.

³ Ibid., 251.

education, did not deny the value of the classic languages, but advocated¹ the study of them in a later stage of education. He maintained that the study of the mother tongue together with the colloquial use of modern languages, especially of the German, which is so homogeneous and vegetative in its formations, could be so alternated with the study of nature as to secure the liberalizing end sought; accordingly he advocated strongly the study of the natural sciences in early education, and described the process of mind in its investigation of natural objects, which he thought involved a still greater play of the imagination than language-study, leading to direct knowledge of the Infinite Mind, that states itself purely as laws of nature, while language phenomena are so largely exponents of the disorderly play of the human faculties. He believed that the universal attraction of the young mind to the analysis of natural objects, and the health of the body incidental to studying them, not in scientific treatises but in living nature, suggests that the early part of a child's education should be of this cast rather than the other.

The foregoing will serve to show how thus early Follen was advocating the new German methods of education as originated by Pestalozzi and developed by Froebel. When writing her *Reminiscences* in 1877, Miss Peabody observes² that everything she heard about what was called the New Education only recalled Follen's discussions of these same methods a half century earlier.

As instructor at Harvard Follen was required to teach six hours per day three days in the week. That his efforts and influence were beginning to bear fruit is shown by a letter³ written to his father in 1829: "The study of the German language and literature is steadily increasing. Many young Americans, particularly theological students, who have finished their studies here, are travelling in Germany, in order to begin there anew and then to make the dead riches of German learn-

¹ *Ibid.*, 257ff.

² *Reminiscences of Channing*, 257.

³ *Works*, I, 265.

ing live here anew in this free air." During the five years of his instructorship he had been laying the foundation for the larger program which he hoped to carry out as soon as the soil should be sufficiently prepared. So diligently had he labored to arouse an interest in German that by 1830 an average of about sixty students, a quarter of the total number enrolled in the college, were attending his classes each year, German books in native type were issuing from the university press, German works were being added constantly to the public and private libraries, German books and teachers of German were to be found in nearly every important town in New England.¹ In Boston a number of people were already able to speak the language and many more could read it. As a result the treasures of German literature were rapidly gaining intelligent interest and universal acceptance.

During this period there existed also at Harvard a German Society organized by a number of the scholarly men of Cambridge and Boston, presumably for the purpose of acquiring and imparting a broader knowledge of things German than had hitherto been possible. It seems that the only available information concerning this organization is to be found on the paper covers of an old German book² printed in 1829. On the one cover of this book is pasted a printed list of by-laws governing the association, and on the other another printed sheet with the heading, "German Society, 1828," following by this list of names: C. Follen, S. A. Eliot, G. Ticknor, S. H. Perkins, Wm. T. Andrews, F. C. Gray, J. Pickering, N. S. Bowditch, E. Wiggelsworth, F. Lieber, Mr. Miesegalo, T. Searle, J. M. Robinson. From the fact that the list of original members is headed by Follen it may be safely assumed that he was the guiding spirit of the Society.

In 1830 a full professorship of the German language and literature was established at Harvard, and through the generosity of Follen's friends, Mr. Cabot, Colonel Perkins and Mr. J. Phillips, it was endowed for a period of five years,

¹ *Works*, V, 132.

² Discovered a few years ago among a lot of old books in a Boston book store by L. L. Mackall; cf. *Harvard Graduate Magazine*, XI, 492.

with the understanding¹ that it should be continued by the Corporation at the end of that time in case public sentiment favored it. This afforded Follen his long coveted opportunity to put into operation his larger plans for the promoting of German studies in America. In the autumn of 1831 he was formally inaugurated into his new position, and the message which he proclaimed in his address on German literature, delivered on this occasion, was of such vital importance and far-reaching influence that it not only aroused the keenest interest of the learned men of the country, but called forth most favorable comment from some of the best literary journals of the day, and highly complimentary letters from such men as J. Q. Adams and Edward Livingston, James Marsh and others.

This address is not only a lucid and correct interpretation of the German spirit, but it contains also the program of German study in America, which remains essentially the same today after the lapse of almost a century. Follen's chief aim is to emphasize the importance of the study of the German language and literature and to acquaint the American student with those German authors who seem best fitted to excite their attention and to reward it by their enlightening and inspiring influence. At the outset he points out the essential difference between the French and German genius as manifested in the literary productions in the last half of the 18th century: in the French an immoderate respect for finish, neatness and ease, with an excessive abhorrence for all inelegance, unrefined simplicity, obscurity, and mystery,—in short, a certain worship of the outside of things; in the German a comparative indifference to finite and external things, but an all-absorbing interest in the boundlessness of every intellectual pursuit and a tendency to embody the grave, profound, and sublime in unfinished, obscure, or indefinite forms. The degeneracy of German literature in the 17th and first half of the 18th century, which had been brought about by a slavish imitation of French taste and manners, was the main cause of the French

¹ *Works*, I, 344.

contempt for German works prior to the 19th century, but through the influence of Mme. de Staël's book on Germany France was aroused from a vain idolatry of its own greatness to an enlarged conception and appreciation of foreign merit; and from an object of common disregard German literature and philosophy began to gain general interest and esteem in that country. Through the translation of poor works, such as the plays of Kotzebue, and poor translations of good works, the eye of English criticism also had been blinded to the true character of the poetic literature of Germany. Just as a profusion of heavy or overwrought ornament in the parts, with a lack of simplicity in the conception of the whole, was wrongly supposed to be the characteristics of Gothic architecture, likewise were works characterized by an extravagant sentiment and diction, by a visionary philosophy or an accumulation of useless details, pointed out as specimens of German literary style and taste; but through better translations these first unfavorable impressions were gradually corrected until German literature and philosophy gained faithful and impartial study in England.

After this general introduction Follen discusses some of the special branches of learning cultivated by the German scholars, beginning with a short characterization of German philosophy and theology. Among the other sciences that have received special attention he mentions mathematics, astronomy, medicine, law, and history. In jurisprudence, as he points out, untiring historical research has been made by such jurists as Hugo and Savigny; the knowledge of civil law vastly promoted by Niebur's discovery of the ancient Roman commentaries of Caius; and great progress made in the study of penal legislation and of the nature and punishment of crime. The works of Grotius on international law and his doctrine of the natural rights of man, a science advanced successively by Pufendorf, Thomasius, Kant, and Fichte, were a most valuable contribution to this department of learning. In the domain of history, too, literary Germany deserves the highest praise. Niebur's monumental work on ancient Rome is the greatest of its kind; while the works of J. von Müller

and of Heering are in universal use as college text-books. German editions of the classic literature of Greece and Rome, together with dictionaries, grammars and commentaries are found wherever the ancient classics are studied. Ancient literature has found its most faithful interpreters in Germany; and everything from the smallest details to the sublimest ideas embodied in its greatest works has been searched out by the matchless perseverance and critical acumen of German philologists.

But the most national of all her intellectual products,—the one which every native must fondly cherish, is the poetic literature of Germany. This is divided into two golden ages, designated as the mediæval and the modern. Among the first fruits of the early German muse were the great epics and lyrics of the middle ages: The Song of the Nibelungen is an epic inferior to the Iliad in poetic finish, but superior to it in the great design of the whole; the heroic character of the chivalrous Burgundians in unequal contest with Attila's hosts, and the tragic conflict between courage, truth, honor, fidelity, and the powers of darkness are portrayed with a dramatic energy equaled only by Shakespeare. The love lyrics of the knightly minnesingers are a beautiful tribute to the divine and prophetic element which Tacitus said the ancient Germans recognized in the soul of woman. The theme of this poetry is that reverence for womanly excellence, which is designated as one of the finest traits of the German national character. It seeks to represent the beau ideal of womanhood in all its simple grace and nature, surrounded by all the romantic glamor with which the spirit of chivalry loved to adorn the object of its affection. This early period of especial achievement was followed by centuries of decadence; but the liberation of man's higher interests from the tyranny of presumptuous self-constituted authority in the 16th century and the revival of classical learning in the 17th combined to awaken a new intellectual life from which arose in the 18th century the modern period of German literature. Through the independent genius of Lessing this young national literature was freed from its self-imposed bondage to foreign taste and man-

ners, not in order to exchange it for a vain self-complacency in exalting the peculiarities of German life and character, but to get wisdom from every teacher, foreign or native, ancient or modern; from reason and passion, prudence and enthusiasm;—to learn from all, but to imitate none; and through the pursuit of such ideals by such illustrious men as Lessing, Klopstock, Wieland, Herder, Goethe and Schiller was ushered in the second golden age of German poetry.

After setting forth these main excellences which entitle German literature to the perusal and general attention of Americans, Follen concludes his discourse with some special reasons why the study of the German language and literature is of the greatest importance to the English-speaking race: In the first place the ancient German language is the mother of the English. Innumerable words and modes of expression in which a nation signifies its first, simplest, and deepest conceptions and wants,—those home-words, which constitute alike the elements of every-day conversation and the language of poetry, remain to this day essentially the same in both languages and show that the ancestors of both nations must have been united, not merely under the same military leader, but in daily life, under the same roof, at the same fireside. Then, too, the treasures of folk-lore, such as the wonders of Red Riding Hood and Cinderella, handed down for centuries from mother to child, lead the American child as well as the English back to the old Saxon nursery in the German fatherland; and many proverbs and golden sayings, the good old family furniture and family jewels of the nation, are still used widely enough to remind all whose mother-tongue is either English or German of the common ancestors from whom they are inherited. There is a relationship not only between the languages and literatures of these nations but also in the very mode of perceiving and feeling them; hence those of English education are better prepared than any other foreigners to understand and enjoy the strength and beauty of the German classics; and the further they advance the more they can perceive that the study of German is valuable as an aid to a more comprehensive understanding of their own language and lit-

erature. Through their profound understanding of Shakespeare and through the flexibility and copious vocabulary of their language, which has words for the most various shades of thought and feeling, the Germans have been able to make such a perfect translation of his dramas that he has become to them, as it were, a native poet,—a fact sufficient in itself to show that those works which come from English genius find also in Germany a kindred mind and an understanding heart.

Such was the message of the German spirit which Follen brought to the students of Harvard; such was the wealth of German culture which he hoped to make accessible to the American public through his professorial position. By means of his address, which was published and sent in various directions, he not only opened the public eye to the treasures of one of the greatest literatures of modern Europe, but at the same time sought to dispel some of the delusions concerning it which were current in academic circles. In a clear and convincing manner he exonerated German philosophy from the charge of obscure reasoning and irreverent tendencies, and German theology from the charge of skepticism. In like manner he not only corrected the erroneous idea that the German language is especially difficult and that German poetry is given to mysticism, wild rhapsody and empty bombast, but gave positive reasons why these are in their very nature of permanent interest to those whose mother-tongue is English and why their study is of the highest cultural value.

From this time on Follen gave in addition to his instruction in the language a regular course of lectures on German literature, which was well attended and highly appreciated by the students of Harvard. In order to bring his message to a still wider public he wrote a series of lectures on the life and works of Schiller, which he delivered in Boston during the winter of 1831-'32 and again a few years later upon two occasions to a large, appreciative audience in New York. Prior to 1817 Schiller was known in America mainly through mutilated translations of his early dramas, especially "The Robbers"; and the mere fact that he wrote for the stage was

in itself sufficient to condemn him in the opinion of puritanical New England where the theater was regarded almost as an institution of the devil. Even as late as 1834 the American Quarterly Observer¹ lamented the fact that a man of Schiller's great talent had "devoted all his powers to an amusement which is at war with good taste and good morals," and asserted that a man to whose desires and feelings the scriptural expression "beauty of holiness"² could be applied would not have dedicated the greater part of his life to adorn and dignify the stage. In the same year so eminent a scholar as F. H. Hedge regretted³ "that a writer of Schiller's standing in this age of the world should have devoted the principal part of his life to a department of art so questionable in its tendency and so surely destined to decay as the drama." But after the return of the Göttingen men⁴ the North American Review and several other prominent magazines threw the weight of their influence on the side of German literature and from that time on Schiller began to grow in favor and to receive intelligent appreciation by our most scholarly men.

In 1833 the first American reprint of Carlyle's "Life of Schiller" appeared in Boston, with a general preface by Park Benjamin and an introduction by Professor Follen. This book along with the excellent reviews which it called forth gave Schiller an assured standing in America. Although the editors and reviewers note the unusual ability of the English biographer they do not mention Carlyle by name,—a fact which seems to indicate, strangely enough, that they were uncertain at least concerning the authorship of the distinguished work.⁵ In view of the fact that Carlyle's book met with little success in Germany at the time and that its value has been

¹ II, 173f.

² An expression applied to Schiller's morality by Follen.

³ *Christian Examiner*, XVI, 391.

⁴ The first American students who entered the University of Göttingen.

⁵ Cf. *North American Review*, Vol. 39 (New Series, Vol. 30), p. 1ff., July, 1834.

appreciated by German scholars only of late, it is all the more significant that Follen should have been one of the first to recognize its importance.¹ With keen critical insight Follen praises the work as a biography in the true sense of the word; not merely a recital of events or a description of the peculiarities and gradual unfolding of Schiller's character, but chiefly a critical analysis of his works, in which the main part of such a life consists. He points out further that the English biographer not only possesses that philosophic universality of perception and interest, which is necessary for a just estimation of foreign merit, but that he has also a peculiar aptness for appreciating the characteristic excellence of Schiller. By a comparison with the original Follen points out several misinterpretations and incorrect translations in the English edition and corrects them in the American reprint. He characterizes the work, on the whole as one of the best specimens of English criticism. These pertinent remarks by Follen, who was considered by his contemporaries as the best authority on German literature in this country, elicited favorable editorial comment from the literary magazines and aroused general interest in this anonymous work on Schiller.

The most valuable part of this introduction is Follen's deeply appreciative characterization of Schiller's poetry, which is important enough to be quoted here in full: "Schiller's poetry is distinguished by its moral character. But its morality is not that of the philosopher who insists on an entire separation of the moral principle from all natural desires; nor that of the theologian who maintains that holiness consists in denying and crucifying the natural affections. It is a morality that flows from the heart freely and bountifully, receiving and merging in its wide and deep channel all natural desires and affections. It is the morality of nature, the beauty of holiness, the quickening spirit of love and happiness; which breathes in all his works and sheds a saint-like glory upon his life and sufferings. His whole life was spent in communing with the Spirit of Truth that had revealed itself to him in the bright raiment of poetry, and in delivering to his

¹ Cf. Albert Ludwig, *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt*, 185ff.

countrymen his poetic mission. At a time when patriotic enthusiasm and poet-worship had extolled his merit above what is attained by mere human effort, he alone seemed ignorant of the eminence upon which he stood because he measured his attainments not by what lay behind him and below but by what he saw before him and above. Of him whose image found an altar in every heart, of him it may well be said that while all rejoiced in the light of his countenance he himself 'wist not that his face shone.'"

The only portion of Follen's lectures on German literature preserved complete is that relating to Schiller. Although a few copies of Carlyle's work had probably been imported before 1832, it was Follen who gave the first comprehensive account of Schiller's life and works to any considerable number of Americans. These lectures open with an interesting biographical sketch followed by a detailed account of each of the nine complete dramas, interspersed with translations of representative passages along with a running commentary on the same. Through his broad knowledge of men and his deep insight into human nature Follen was able to present in the main an accurate and appreciative analysis of Schiller's chief dramatic characters; and for the most part his critical observations differ from those of Carlyle only in a few minor details.

Since it is mainly through the "Robbers" that Schiller was known to the American public, and chiefly by the crudities of this play that his character as a poet was judged, Follen entered into a thorough discussion of this drama. He saw in this first dramatic production of Schiller all the moral and spiritual elements of the author's character, especially his reverence for religion, truth and freedom, which are exhibited here as coming in conflict not only with the decrees of fate, as in the ancient drama, but rather with the unnatural institutions of society, the authority of priests and princes, customs and fashions,—in short, with the united despotism of the sword, the pen, and the money-bag. Follen had a deeply sympathetic appreciation of this tragic conflict, for he, too, like the main character, Karl Moor, had suffered from his over-

zealous attempt to promote the welfare of society. He thought that not only the enemies but also the friends which Schiller gained by his bold attack upon tyranny frequently overlooked what he calls the "sublime moral" of the play,—the tragic results that accrue to him who of his own free will cannot yield obedience to the moral law. This was the very struggle through which Follen himself had passed, and it was his victory over self that had saved him from the fate that overtook Karl Moor.

As a student of psychology and ethics Follen was deeply interested also in the character of Franz Moor. Schlegel calls Franz a mere copy of Richard III. without any of those ennobling qualities which arouse both abhorrence and admiration for the latter; and Carlyle also characterizes him as an amplified but distorted image of Iago and Richard without the least air of reality. Follen on the other hand sees in Franz "a villain of an original and highly interesting cast." By a careful comparison of Franz and Richard he shows that the points of difference between them are of more importance than the resemblances and that "although there exists between them a certain family likeness, yet they differ essentially in those nice features of dramatic portraiture which constitute the individuality of the picture." Follen denies that Richard possesses any ennobling traits except great ingenuity and astonishing bravery. Franz, he asserts, possesses also these qualities, "but his bravery is displayed in another field; his heroism and tactics are exhibited in fighting the enemy within, sometimes by boldly giving battle, sometimes by wisely avoiding it." As for the air of reality Follen does not claim that "such a beau-ideal of an atheist-tyrant is to be found in reality, chiefly perhaps because the restraints of society prevent men of this disposition from acting out their whole nature; but all the elements of such a character certainly exist among men and the disjecta membra of this monster may be easily pointed out, from which the poet has formed one self-consistent individual." To Carlyle's criticism that "so reflective a miscreant as Franz could not exist because his calculations would lead him to honesty, if merely because it was the best policy," Follen

replies that "the philosophy of Franz is not employed, like that of Paley, in finding what sort of enjoyment will in the long run afford the greatest pleasure and in choosing, accordingly, the means to the end sought; it has nothing to do with the ends of existence, but simply with the infinite variety of means. The great end and aim of all his action is set, not by his reasoning powers, but by the uncontrolled impulse of his sensual nature, which craves absolute dominion. The end being given his mind delights in overlooking the whole range of means and in choosing them, good or bad, according to his desires,"—an excellent characterization of the villain Franz Moor.

By this careful analysis and criticism of the play Follen aims to show that in spite of the youthful excesses of an exuberant and unbridled fancy this drama contains all the nobler elements of human nature, and that "the author's design is to indicate that even the most ardent love of justice and freedom and heroic resistance to every kind of oppression must lead to error and crime if it does not induce us first to dethrone the selfish passions and establish the perfect law of liberty in our own souls." He points out further that this play is merely the first fruit of a youthful dramatic genius; that its originality and power is only a crude indication of what is to follow in Schiller's mature works of art.

In like manner Follen treats the remainder of Schiller's dramas, making many original and highly pertinent observations and occasionally taking issue with the criticisms of Schlegel and Carlyle.

The last lecture is devoted to a brief sketch of Schiller's dramatic fragments, followed by a short account of Goethe's literary activity and closing with a general characterization of Schiller's poetic nature. In this delineation Follen begins with Goethe's well-known expression that "Schiller preached the gospel of freedom," explaining that the word freedom is to be taken in the sense of Kant's philosophy, as synonymous with the moral nature of man. He explains that Schiller's enthusiasm for freedom is the living spring and the life-blood of all his poetry; that in the dramas of his Storm and Stress period,

which may be called the heroic age of his literary activity, this spirit appears in the form of a Hercules going about to free the earth from tyrants and monsters; that it is the instinct of liberty warring against the tyranny of circumstances and arbitrary institutions. This love of liberty, Follen adds, is with Schiller not a negative or destructive principle, but a striving after freedom from oppression,—from all kinds of unnatural and unreasonable restraints so that the spiritual principle of human nature may unfold itself fully in the individual and in society; it is only a manifestation of his pure delight in perfection, his love of nature, of man, and of God. Schiller loved nature for herself in all her various shapes and moods, but he loved best those things in nature which call forth most effectively the energies, the strong and tender emotions and high aspirations of the soul; all that reminds man of his high destiny and that aids him to attain it. His dramas are, therefore, as Follen conceives them, a revelation of moral beauty; a revelation of his faith that man alone is able to form his own character, and capable of infinite advancement. Since the moral freedom of man is the native soil of Schiller's poetry, as Follen concludes, every good principle loves to grow in it, and for this very reason it does not appear as a forced product of rigid self-control, but as springing up from the abundance of the heart with ideal beauty.

These lectures on Schiller, published in 1841, supplemented the good work which the North American Review had begun. Carlyle's book was adapted rather to the needs of the student, and the pro-German magazines educated the academic public to the point where it would understand and appreciate this work; but Follen's lectures appealed also to the layman and were designed to make Schiller's name popular among the people; hence it is safe to say that with the exception of Carlyle Follen did more than any other critic to introduce and interpret Schiller to the American public.¹ To those stupid

¹ In his excellent monograph *Schiller und die deutsche Nachwelt*, Albert Ludwig says: "We must not forget that Karl Follen, the man who as no other won the hearts of his fellow students through the magic power of his personality, became in his new home beyond the sea an enthusiastic prophet of our national poet by means of his lectures and addresses."

criticisms against Schiller's devotion to the dramatic art Follen replied in Schiller's own words,¹ that the stage is an infallible key to the secret recesses of the human heart, hence the only place where one can hear what one rarely or never hears—truth, and see what one rarely or never sees—man. "The theater is," he maintains, "a school of practical wisdom, a moral institution, hence one of the most powerful instruments to elevate and refine the character of a nation."

PHILOSOPHY.

As professor of German literature Follen desired to promote the study of German philosophy also, which he, as a representative of contemporary German Idealism, considered "the system of fundamental and regulative principles of all the various branches of learning and knowledge, a department in which German literature is especially rich."² Soon after his arrival at Harvard he began to discuss³ with Channing and other intellectual leaders of Boston German philosophical thought, about which little was then known in New England.

In the autumn of 1828, he was elected to an instructorship in ethics and ecclesiastical history in the Harvard Divinity School, and began at once a systematic course of instruction in those subjects.⁴ Ethics was a branch of learning in which he was especially interested and all his early training had fitted him for such a position. His biographer says⁵ that his method of instruction was to give his class a subject, upon which each member was to write his views and then hand them in for him to criticise. After carefully reading these themes and pointing out to the writer all that he found ob-

¹ Cf. *Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet*, Säkular-Ausgabe, XI, 89ff.

² *Works*, V, 134.

³ Cf. *Diary*, *Works*, I, 182ff.

⁴ In his *Harvard Reminiscences*, 123, Peabody says that "Follen's lectures were of unsurpassed excellence both on the score of scientific knowledge of the ground which they covered, and for the elevated tone of feeling which pervaded them."

⁵ *Works*, I, 260.

jectionable in style, reasoning, or judgment, as well as freely praising all that he found excellent, he took up the subject himself and treated it in the most comprehensive and masterly manner that he was capable of. In giving his own views he was always careful to avoid dogmatism and to show that on those great questions he considered himself still a learner with his pupils. According to a letter ¹ to his parents in August, 1829, he lectured on history in the College and on ethics in the Theological School three days in the week. Friday evenings he had an exercise with the theological students in extempore preaching, and on Saturdays and Sunday evenings attended with the other members of the theological faculty the regular exercise in preaching. Each of the theological students of the two upper classes preached in turn and after the service each member of the faculty made his remarks upon the exercises, which he, as the youngest of the faculty, had to begin.

Follen desired to devote his whole time to the field of ethics, but when Dr. Palfrey was made professor of that branch in the autumn of 1830 Follen resigned his instructorship in the Divinity School and gave his whole attention to the duties of his professorship of German literature. Desirous, however, of contributing further to a general knowledge of German philosophy he prepared a series of popular lectures on "Moral Philosophy," which he delivered to a large and appreciative audience in Boston in the winter of 1830-'31. These lectures form the third volume of his published works and contain the subject matter which he discussed with his classes in the Divinity School. In these as in his other lectures Follen uses the historical method, beginning with fundamental principles, carefully laying his foundation and then building upon it with the utmost fidelity. After giving a short exposition of the meaning and scope of ethics he proceeds with a brief sketch of the various systems of antiquity, including the New Testament, followed by a discussion of Spinoza and Kant. These discussions along with his running commentary and criticisms show that he was very much at home in the

¹ *Works*, I, 262.

field of philosophical thought. After laying his historical background he takes up the subject of ethics itself discussing: (1) the foundation of morals and religion in human nature; (2) the development of these principles by education; (3) their establishment in society, chiefly by the institutions of church and state.

Ethics, or morality, as he conceives it, refers to human conduct as right or wrong, that is, as conforming or opposed to the dictates of conscience; it is the duties of man enjoined by reason whether prescribed or not by the laws of society, or by what is conceived as the will of God. Thus he distinguishes not only between religion and morality but employs the word morality in the scientific sense of ethics. His ethical system may be summed up in short as follows: Every individual must ascertain by the use of his reason in what his duty consists; by the exercise of his reason he can deduce the moral law. His action to be ethical must proceed from choice or free will, and from a desire for happiness. Since happiness increases as one advances toward perfection, then the ultimate object of ethical conduct is human perfection. In his pursuit of perfection man has certain duties to self, to society, and to God. His social duties consist in promoting the welfare of his fellow man, and out of these duties arises the necessity of civil government, whose only purpose is to secure equal rights and justice to all. From man's religious nature and his obligations growing out of his relations to God arises the necessity of religious institutions.

From Kant and Fichte Follen accepts the view that the moral law is the utterance of reason; with Schiller he rejects Kant's doctrine that an act loses its moral character if it is performed for the sake of happiness or pleasure; with Fries he agrees that moral action should spring from conviction through reason, but disagrees with his demand that the conviction of the individual should coincide with that of cultured men. On some points he disagrees with Kant, but characterizes his system as the product of unprecedented intellectual endeavor, as a system which must always exert a profound

influence on those who study it, causing them to stand on higher ground than before.

It is not necessary here to enter into any further discussion of Follen's ethical system. Let it suffice to say that in these lectures he gave in all probability the first public discussion in this country of German philosophical thought, especially that of Kant.¹

President James Marsh of the University of Vermont was one of the earliest pioneers in planting the seeds of German theological learning in this country. As early as 1821 he was studying German with the aid of Professor Moses Stuart at Andover, and soon after gave some attention to German philosophy. His biographer, J. Torrey, records² that "with the aid of Coleridge and Mme. de Staël he began to consult Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, then a perfect terra incognita to American scholars." In 1829 Marsh republished in this country Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection" with an introduction, in which he sums up the principal points of Coleridge's system of philosophical and religious thought. In a letter to Coleridge the same year he wrote:³ "The German philosophers, Kant and his followers, are very little known in this country; and our young men who have visited Germany have paid little attention to that department of study while there. I cannot boast of being wiser than others in this respect; for though I have read a part of the works of Kant, it was under many disadvantages, so that I am indebted to your writings for the ability to understand what I have read of his works, and am waiting with some impatience for that part of your works,

¹ Prior to this time Kant was scarcely more than a name in America. In his *Century Discourse* (1801) President Dwight of Yale alluded to Kant as a subverter of morals, and two years later Samuel Miller in his *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century* gave a distorted account of Kant's philosophy based upon a London review of an English translation of the original. In his *American Philosophy*, 512, Riley states that Kant's system found its first sympathetic interpreters in the United States in certain Pennsylvania Germans such as F. A. Rauch in his *Psychology* of 1840 and S. S. Schmucker in his *Mental Philosophy* of 1842.—Follen's lectures, however, antedate these works by ten years.

² *Memoirs and Remains of Rev. Dr. Marsh*, 43.

³ *Ibid.*, 137.

which will aid more directly in the study of those subjects of which he treats. * * * "

Shortly after publishing his Inaugural Address Follen received from Marsh a letter of inquiry concerning German philosophy and books pertaining thereto. Follen replied in a long letter,¹ in which he recommended the Anthropology of Kant, the psychologies of Carus and Fries, Tennemann's History of Philosophy, Schulze's and Tasche's works on logic, the latter of which was compiled from notes taken on Kant's lectures. His letter closes thus: "If these books should be of any service to you, I should be happy to lend them to you, and will send them in any way you may point out. There are many other topics on which I wish to communicate with you, particularly the plan of our mutual friend, Mr. Henry, to publish a philosophical journal, which seems to me a very desirable object. I hope this summer will not pass away without bringing me the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you. At any rate I earnestly hope for a frequent exchange of thought with you upon subjects of such deep interest to us both."

This letter contains the only information that the writer of this treatise has been able to find concerning the relations between Follen and Marsh; but it is sufficient to prove, at least, that Follen's influence as an authority on German philosophical thought was making itself felt in various directions.

GYMNASTICS.

The year 1825 is not only a landmark in the history of German instruction in the United States, but marks also the beginning of gymnastic training in American schools as a part of a liberal education and as a means to complete harmonious development of the whole man. The impulse which led to the espousal of physical education in the 19th century came from Germany and was distinctly humanitarian in its nature. The pioneers of this movement in America were Follen, Beck, and Lieber, disciples of that rugged old German patriot, "Turnvater" Jahn, whose ideal was to create a strong, bold race of

¹ Ibid., 153.

men, vigorous and independent in body as well as in mind. As early as 1772 this ideal had found expression by J. B. Michaelis in a poetic letter to Uz entitled "Unsere Bestimmung," in which the author asserted that in order to attain the lost "Gesundheit meines Volkes" physical culture was as necessary as the education of the mind. The movement thus started culminated in the endeavors of Jahn, the father of German gymnastics.

Brooding over the humiliation of Germany by Napoleon, Jahn conceived the idea of restoring the spirit of his countrymen by the development of their physical and moral powers through the practice of gymnastics. His object was to produce a manly character in the German youth by means of a thorough physical education and thus to prepare them for a successful struggle against the conqueror. He began by opening up a Turnplatz at Berlin in 1811, where he taught the young gymnasts to regard themselves as members of a guild for the emancipation of the fatherland. Rousseau, Basedow, Guts Muths, and Pestalozzi had done much for the education of the youth, but Jahn could be satisfied with nothing less than the education of the whole people. From this idea arose his "Teutsches Volksthum" (1810), in which he drew with a masterly hand all the features of the purest, noblest humanity as it had manifested itself in the strong and tender character of the German people at all times, and pointed out physical training as the means for the maintenance and further development of this character. His idea was to awaken the Germans from their slumber and to teach them that only through the harmonious cultivation of all their powers could they prepare themselves to rise in defense of their liberties. His ideas of national education were given to the public through the medium of his "Teutsche Turnkunst," which soon gave to gymnastics a national character. In the many gymnasiums which now sprung up all over the country the German youth acquired for the most part the strength and self-reliance upon which depended the issue of that life and death struggle for freedom and fatherland in 1813. How closely Jahn's work is connected

with the development of universal military service in Germany, the so-called Volksheer, is evident.

Such were the ideas, such the system which Follen and other promoters of German culture sought to introduce into American educational institutions.

Prior to 1825 physical training in its proper sense had no recognition or standing in the curriculum of American schools and colleges except in the West Point Military Academy, but under the direct influence of the Germans physical education became a subject of the greatest interest in New England, especially in and around Boston, and Follen was one of the main leaders of the movement. It seems quite probable that the Round Hill School was the first institution in the United States to make physical training a part of the regular instruction. A prospectus descriptive of the new school informed the public that it was designed also "to encourage activity of body as the means of promoting firmness of constitution and vigor of mind, and to appropriate regularly a portion of each day to healthful sports and gymnastic exercises." This part of the program was intrusted to the care of Follen's friend, Karl Beck, under whose supervision the Round Hill Gymnasium was established in 1825. Concerning the nature of this first American gymnasium only meagre information has come down to us.¹ A descriptive circular² issued in the spring of 1826 shows with what serious purpose physical training was introduced in the school. In 1828 Beck made Jahn's "Teutsche Turnkunst" accessible to the public through an English translation, in the preface of which he explains that physical training is of the greatest importance not only for the individual but also for the national safety and welfare. Several writers³ note that Follen also was connected with Round Hill in 1825, but this is evidently an error; however he visited Beck twice

¹ Cf. Ellis, *Recollections of Round Hill*, *Educational Review*, I, 33ff.; also Hartwell, *Circular of Infor.*, No. 5, p. 23, U. S. Bureau of Ed., 1885.

² Cf. Leonard's article in *Mind and Body*, XII, 221f.

³ Ellis, Hartwell, and Faust in his *German Element in the U. S.*, II, 214, 388.

during the summer of that year, and since he was so closely connected with him in personal friendship and educational ideals this allusion to the beginning of gymnastics in the Round Hill School is made here.

As a trained gymnast and an enthusiastic admirer of Jahn Follen was well qualified to become the father of gymnastic training in American university life. As soon as he reached Cambridge he began gymnastic exercises with the students at Harvard and soon opened up the first college gymnasium in America. About three months after his arrival he wrote ¹ to Beck as follows concerning his progress: "I have commenced gymnastic exercises with the students. The College furnishes the implements and will give us a place. At present I use one of the dining halls. All show much zeal. In Boston a gymnasium is soon to be established. The matter will lead further probably than most at present anticipate." The following remark in the "American Journal of Education" for April, 1826, indicates that the gymnasium was attracting favorable attention: "We are happy to understand that a gymnasium has been instituted at Cambridge, under the superintendence of a gentleman from Germany. The result thus far is very satisfactory, both to the instructors and the students. A meeting has been held and a committee appointed to take the proper measures for establishing a gymnasium in Boston."

In the "Catalogue ² of the Officers and Students of the University in Cambridge" for the academic year, 1826-'27, appears "Charles Follen, J. U. D., Instructor in German and Lecturer on Civil Law;" but in that for the academic year, 1827-'28, he is called "Instructor in German and Superintendent of the Gymnasium;" and in both of these catalogues the following passage occurs: "The regular Gymnastic exercises when the Superintendent of the Gymnasium is present are on Wednesday and Friday from 12 to 1 o'clock; or when the length of the day admits, after evening Commons. On Monday the Monitors and Vice-Monitors meet separately with the

¹ *Works*, I, 161.

² The following information concerning the Harvard Catalogues is taken from Leonard's article in *Mind and Body*, XII, 251.

Superintendent to prepare for the general exercises." The Catalogues for 1828-'29 and 1829-'30 give Follen the title, "Instructor in the German Language, in Ethics and in Civil and Ecclesiastical History," but make no mention of gymnastic exercises. Continuing from 1826 through 1829 the following paragraph is included: "Military exercises are allowed on Tuesday and Thursday from 12 to 1 o'clock or after evening Commons, with music not oftener than every other time and the liberty of a parade on the afternoon of Exhibition days."

Concerning this pioneer period of gymnastics at Harvard very little information seems to be available outside of a few reminiscences written years after that time. We know, however, that Follen's efforts were supported by an appeal from Dr. John C. Warren, who was at that time professor of anatomy and surgery in the Medical College. "In my lectures annually delivered at Cambridge," says Warren,¹ "I have explained the great importance of physical exercise in developing the organic structure of the body, as well as its necessity for maintaining it in that degree of vigor which by nature it was destined to possess. The obvious failure of health in a great number of individuals in the University gave weight to these considerations and led the Government of the University to make some arrangements for gymnastic exercises in the grounds assigned for the sports of students. The young gentlemen entered into the plan with great ardor, and the apparatus was kept in repair and activity for a number of years."

In his "Reminiscences of Harvard 1822-'26" the Rev. Cazneau Palfrey speaks of this event in the following words:² "The first movement in the direction of gymnastics made in college was made in my senior year. Dr. Follen, soon after his arrival in Boston, excited an interest in gymnastic exercises and opened a gymnasium in the city. The medical professors of the College published an appeal to the students, strongly recommending to them the practice of gymnastic exercises; and a meeting of all the classes was held in the College chapel

¹ *Life of Warren*, I, 232.

² *The Harvard Register*, II, 193.

(such a meeting as I do not remember hearing of on any other occasion), at which a response was made to this appeal, and resolutions passed expressing our readiness to follow the suggestions made in it. One of the unoccupied commons halls was fitted up with various gymnastic appliances, and other fixtures were erected on the Delta, the enclosure now occupied by Memorial Hall. But Dr. Follen did not confine his operations to these two localities. One day he was to be seen issuing from the College yard at a dog-trot, with all the College at his heels in single file, and arms akimbo, making a train a mile long bound for the top of Prospect Hill. Great was the amazement and amusement of all passers-by."

Dr. Peabody also has handed down a similar account ¹ as follows: "Dr. Follen first introduced gymnastics as a system into Harvard College, certainly of his own motion, and, as I believe, gratuitously. The Delta, where Memorial Hall now stands, was furnished with masts, parallel bars, and the then usual variety of apparatus for athletic training and exercise; and one of the larger dining-rooms under the chapel in University Hall was similarly fitted up. We exercised under Dr. Follen's instruction and supervision. He taught us to run with the minimum of fatigue, and with the body thrown slightly forward, the arms akimbo, and breathing only through the nose; and he repeatedly led the entire body of students, except the few lame and the fewer lazy, on a run without pause, from the Delta to the top of a hill now crowned by the most conspicuous of the Somerville churches, and back again after a ten minutes' halt. One of my classmates, George F. Haskins (afterward Rev. Father Haskins of the Angel Guardian), so far profited by Dr. Follen's teaching that after graduating he established and conducted a gymnasium at Brown University, and in later years of well and widely known philanthropic service, made thorough gymnastic training a part of his educational system for the boys under his charge."

Another allusion ² to the Turnplatz on the Delta is made

¹ *Harvard Reminiscences*, 120f.

² *The Harvard Book*, II, 186.

by T. W. Higginson, who was born in 1823: "One of my most impressive early recollections is of a certain moment when I looked out timidly from my father's gateway, on what is now Kirkland Street, in Cambridge, and saw the forms of young men climbing, swinging, and twirling aloft in the open playground opposite. It was the triangular field then called the Delta, where the great Memorial Hall now stands. The apparatus on which these youths were exercising was, to my childish eyes, as inexplicable as if it had been a pillory or a gallows, which indeed it somewhat resembled. It consisted of high uprights and cross-bars, with ladders and swinging ropes, and complications of wood and cordage, whose details are vanished from my memory. Beneath some parts of the apparatus there were pits sunk in the earth, and so well constructed that they remained long after the wood work had been removed. This early recollection must date back as far as 1830."

Having become interested in Follen's gymnasium work at Harvard Dr. Warren took active steps in founding the Tremont Gymnasium¹ in Boston, the first public gymnasium in this country. The promotion of this enterprise was begun by a private committee, who made successful application to the city council for a piece of vacant ground which might be improved for the purpose of commencing the experiment. All that remained to be done was to enclose and cover the gymnasium ground and procure a teacher with requisite apparatus. After defraying the initial expense the institution was to be self-supporting by moderate tuition fees within the reach of all classes of the community. Its primary object was to furnish opportunity and means to persons of every age for the regular practice of bodily exercise. If the experiment should be successful it was designed to make the gymnasium a department of public education under the patronage of the city. These tentative arrangements were submitted to the citizens of Boston at a meeting held in the Exchange Coffee House on

¹ The following information concerning the establishment of this gymnasium is taken from editorial notices in the *American Journal of Education*, 1826, I, 436, 443, 635, 669, 701.

the 15th of June, 1826. A deputation from Harvard was present to explain the course of exercises at the College Gymnasium and its beneficial effects. It was stated to the meeting that the health of the students had been greatly improved; that intellectual vigor was found to be the consequence of physical improvement; that the diseases and inquietudes of feeble digestion had disappeared from among the students; that the demands for sensation were now fully satisfied by the manly exercise of the gymnasium; and finally that its social effects were not the least of its consequences to be valued, inasmuch as one common interest in a commendable pursuit had brought into contact and friendly feeling those who might have passed the whole period of college life without being more to each other than mere strangers.

This deputation also read to the meeting the following letter, drafted by a committee of Harvard students, which shows, too, the salutary effects of Follen's innovation: "From the short experience we have had in gymnastic exercises we believe them highly beneficial and we feel a sincere desire that others should participate in the advantages to be derived from them. The improvement in health has been perceptible and general among all those who have engaged in them. The cheerfulness which they produce and the increased agility which results from them are remarkable. The mind sympathizes with the body, and is equally acted on. We are glad to find physical education gaining ground; and hope it may soon become a regular part of the system of education. The soldier, sailor, traveler and men of many mechanical employments find the accomplishments of the gymnasium of the first in their daily business; and in cases of emergency, they are of the highest importance in every walk of life." After all the foregoing views had been presented the meeting resolved: "That it is expedient to attempt the establishment of a Gymnastic School in Boston; and that a committee of five (headed by Dr. Warren) be selected to carry the first resolution into effect; and that it be authorized to receive voluntary contributions and apply them for the establishment of a Gymnasium at such time and in such manner as they may think expedient."

After negotiating in vain to secure Jahn himself as the director of the Boston Gymnasium, Dr. Warren prevailed upon Follen to become the principal instructor until some other qualified man could be found for the position. The gymnasium was opened in the autumn of 1826, as indicated by Follen's letter¹ to Beck under date of September 26th: "Day after tomorrow my rope-dancing begins in Boston. The gallows stand in significant majesty on the spot. There is no lack of gallows-birds, large and small, genteel and vulgar." On the 15th of October Follen wrote² his friend Professor Karl Jung in Basel concerning his activity in gymnastics, as follows: "I have established an excellent Turnplatz in Boston and have agreed to superintend it for a year at a salary of eight hundred dollars, which will require from four to five hours of my time three days of the week. The other three week days I spend six hours daily in the College as one of the four teachers of modern literature. On these three days the instruction in gymnastics at Boston is conducted by my assistant, a young American by the name of Turner, whom I have trained on the Turnplatz here in Cambridge, another of my creations. The whole institution in Boston has been erected at the expense of an association of the most noted men, who take part in the various exercises also, although several of them are over fifty years of age. I have reasons to believe that gymnastics will spread from here over the whole country and have an important influence upon the intellectual as well as the physical condition of the nation."

In the November number (1826) of the "Journal of Education" the editor notes that "the Gymnasium is under the superintendence of Dr. Follen, instructor in Harvard University, who is assisted by Mr. Turner, a distinguished gymnast of the establishment of Cambridge," and speaks in glowing terms of the success of the enterprise. He closes his remarks by pointing out the democratic influence of such an institution,—the very point that Beck sought to make clear in the preface

¹ *Works*, I, 163.

² Follen-Briefe, No. 13, *Jahrbuch*, D. A. H. G., XIV, 31f.

to his translation of the "Teutsche Turnkunst." "Perhaps one of the most gratifying circumstances connected with the gymnasium," says the editor, "is the great diversity of situation in life to which the pupils belong. Physicians, lawyers, and clergymen are intermixed with young men from the counter and the counting-house, and with boys from the public schools. This circumstance is found not at all unfavorable to the decorum and success with which the exercises are conducted, and is, we think, a very satisfactory indication of the extensive interest which the great subject of physical education has excited." In his "retrospect" for 1826 he mentions gymnastics as one of the greatest educational innovations of this country. "Physical culture," he observes, "has been inculcated as the basis of all education; and we do not hesitate to express our impression that the more this important subject is brought within the range of observation and experience, the larger will be the proportion of time and attention devoted to it; and that the public mind will not be satisfied, till, in all the stages of education, this branch is treated as a leading object in human improvement."

Through the recommendation of Jahn a new superintendent was secured from Germany in the summer of 1827 in the person of Franz Lieber, whereupon Follen resigned his position in order to give his undivided attention to his Harvard duties. During his incumbency such enthusiasm was aroused that the attendance reached nearly 400, and when he severed his connection with the institution the gymnasium committee expressed their deepest appreciation of the great value of his services and their profound regrets at losing them. To this Follen replied on July 3, 1827, in a letter¹ which shows also what service he had rendered to the cause of physical education in the United States and what great progress it was making:

"I shall always rejoice in remembering the truly patriotic views to which the Boston Gymnasium owes its existence, and the efficient zeal with which these exercises have been carried

¹ *Works*, I, 242.

on, and which even the severest temperature of last winter could never depress to zero. That healthy atmosphere of the mind, a cheerful mood and fine feeling, which reigned in the gymnasium, adding the charm of good society to the advantages which each individual derived from the exercises. Moreover, the pleasure of seeing similar and partly filial institutions spring up in other cities seemed to justify the hope that gymnastic exercises would be generally adopted as a regular branch of education, and as a source of health, strength and peacefulness, particularly to those persons whose condition of life is such as to induce them to neglect the cultivation of their physical powers. Besides these general grounds of satisfaction, I have many particular reasons for cherishing the recollections of the services I rendered to this institution. As an instructor I succeeded in obtaining, perhaps too soon, that which I consider the most desirable result of all teaching, a number of pupils far surpassing their master. I sincerely wish and hope that the gymnasium may continue a benefit to this enlightened city, and that its branches may spread over all this free and happy land, which my principles lead me to consider as my country, while the kindness of its inhabitants makes me embrace it as my home."

From the gymnasiums of Harvard, Boston, and Round Hill gymnastics spread rapidly to nearly all the principal schools and colleges in the country, and the movement was prosecuted with great ardor as long as the novelty of it lasted, but owing to an insufficient appreciation of its importance this enthusiasm gradually subsided after a few years. However, the interest which gymnastics had aroused in physical education led to a discussion of this important subject by the medical and educational journals of the country and not only served thereby to make people realize in a vague way the full import of the old Latin proverb, *mens sana in corpore sano*, but gave rise also to a movement for the study of physiology and hygiene. Thus the essential spirit of the gymnastic movement which Follen inaugurated was perpetuated by the physiology movement,¹ which it had inspired. This in turn prepared the

¹ Cf. *Reports of Com. of Ed.*, 1897-98, I, 555.

way for the revival of gymnastics in the 50s, culminating subsequently in that great outburst of the modern gymnastic spirit, from which has developed our modern gymnasiums and systems of athletics, which have become a permanent and characteristic feature of our national life.

PLAN OF A NEW EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION.

In a preceding chapter allusion has been made to Follen's early plan to found in this country a German state with a German educational institution, which was to serve as a nucleus from which to extend German civilization over America. After arriving here he substituted for this impracticable scheme the more feasible plan of adapting German methods to American conditions, especially in educational matters. To this end he retained the idea of founding an academy on the German plan, but not until he had resided here nearly ten years did he make any attempt to carry it out.

As noted elsewhere, the professorship of German literature at Harvard had been established for a period of five years, but without any definite promise on the part of the Corporation that it would be continued beyond that time. Before the term expired, however, Follen had reasons to suspect that his appointment would not be renewed, and feeling the necessity of making some provisions for himself elsewhere, he began toward the close of 1834 to consider his long-cherished project. Although he disagreed with the authorities in many respects concerning questions of college government, as his wife notes, he was deeply attached to Harvard and earnestly desired to devote his talent to its development and welfare, believing that he could in this position render his best service by promoting German educational ideas in this country; but when this hope was thwarted he began to draw up plans for a new literary institution, which he wished to found at Boston in imitation somewhat of the German system. With the true zeal of a reformer it was always his fixed purpose to establish the principles of freedom and justice and to overthrow whatever was arbitrary and tyrannical in political, re-

ligious, and educational institutions. He had absolute confidence in the higher qualities of human nature, and believed that the academic youth should be under less outward restraint, both in their choice of studies and in their general conduct in order to develop a feeling of self-reliance and a spirit of self-control; hence as a staunch advocate of German "akademische Freiheit" he stood for a larger freedom in educational matters than obtained in American academic life. From the very first he had advocated the reorganization of the American universities on the German plan, explaining that in the German universities each department of learning such as philosophy, law, medicine, theology, maintained professors representing the various schools of thought so that the student might have the opportunity to test the various doctrines for themselves. He believed that the preparatory schools, such as he wished to establish, should train their pupils in such a way that they would begin their professional studies in the universities, not with prejudices and fixed opinions, but with open minds and opportunity to gain truth from whatever source.

According to the prospectus¹ of the proposed Boston Seminary, as Follen's school was to be called, it was designed to give young men the advantages of a liberal training in all the important branches of a general, classical, and business education without compelling those who were preparing for the professions to study the ancient languages. The departmental and elective systems were to be introduced, the modern languages and literatures as also the natural and physical sciences were to receive a large place in the curriculum, and in addition to the regular instruction private study and research was to be encouraged. There was to be no artificial system of rank, or scale of merit, founded upon the relative attainments of the students, and all sectarian or party influence whatsoever was to be strictly excluded from the seminary. It was designed also to discard the artificial system of discipline which obtained in most American schools. Follen had little sympathy with the prevalent notion of the times that colleges

¹ Given in *Works*, I, 623.

should be isolated in small towns in order to guard the morals of the students. According to his view college life should differ in no respect from the ordinary world of men and affairs; hence he proposed to locate his school in Boston not only to give the students the many literary and social advantages of a large city, but also to accustom them to the kind of surroundings in which they would in all probability spend their future years.

But this is a sketch only of what might have been, for on account of insufficient encouragement and support Follen's Boston Seminary came to naught but a plan on paper. However, it serves to show how he desired to contribute to the improvement of American scholarship through the educational ideals of his native land. Had he been able to put his seminary into operation his talent would have continued in the service of American education, and the great good he would thus have continued to do as an interpreter of German philosophy and literature is beyond all estimation.

HIS INFLUENCE IN HARVARD.

According to the statement of his wife Follen's sympathy for the antislavery cause had materially injured his prospects for advancement in Harvard.¹ At any rate he was definitely informed in 1834 that the Corporation did not deem it expedient to renew his appointment as professor, but that it would retain him as instructor in the German language if he desired to remain at a salary of five hundred dollars. After nearly ten years of unswerving devotion to the institution he saw himself reduced to a position yielding scarcely enough for even a hand-to-mouth living, or compelled to seek employment elsewhere. After careful deliberation he chose the latter alternative and in January, 1835, resigned his instructorship to take effect at the close of the academic year. In March the Corporation "voted that his resignation be accepted and that a suitable person be employed as Instructor in the German language until next Commencement, in the place of Dr. Follen, re-

¹ Cf. *Works*, I, 343ff.

signed.”¹ This meant of course that his resignation was accepted to go into effect at once. But no blame attached to him for the loss of his position.

As a teacher and lecturer his success was unquestioned. He was loved by the students, and his classroom was always crowded. Josiah Quincy records² that he performed the duties of his office in an acceptable manner and that his services were characterized by learning, labor, and fidelity. Miss Peabody³ also characterizes him as a man endowed both by nature and culture with the highest qualifications for a teacher and leader of youth. In a letter congratulating him on his Inaugural Address Edward Livingston spoke of the relative value of German and French for American education, concluding thus:⁴ “The introduction of the German literature and language cannot but have a powerful effect on our own. It is fortunate for the country that the task of separating the valuable material from the dross has fallen into such able hands, and honorable to the university to have discovered and availed itself of the advantage such talents afford.” An extract⁵ from the peroration of the Class Oration delivered by Mr. Osgood in 1832 gives evidence also of the esteem in which he was held by the students. The orator was of the opinion that the value and pleasure derived from the study of German literature with Professor Follen was the most important advantage that Harvard had to offer. “For the able and kind manner in which this has come to us,” he concluded, “we should express our gratitude to one, who has labored assiduously for our improvement; and who must richly attain the wish, expressed in his Inaugural Address, to do justice to his feelings of grateful attachment to his adopted country and to his native land.”

¹ Cf. documents quoted in *Works*, I, 358ff.

² *History of Harvard University*, II, 385.

³ Cf. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, VIII, 547.

⁴ *Works*, I, 308.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 312.

It may not be out of place to add the following eulogy¹ on Follen, written by James Freeman Clarke soon after the former had severed his connection with Harvard College: "We are glad to see in the July number of the London and Westminster Review a high tribute to that distinguished scholar, philosopher, philanthropist and Divine, Dr. Charles Follen. Our regard for that gentleman is so great that we rejoice in every tribute paid to his worth. His life has been one of continuous sacrifice to principle. We know him chiefly as an instructor in the course of his professional duties. Our whole class loved him,—a feeling towards an instructor very unusual among captious and restless collegians. We all love him and revere him now. We never hear his name pronounced without giving him a blessing. We say this passing word because we cannot help doing justice to our feelings. We sincerely hope that he may find some sphere of action in which his large talents and his great learning in law, philosophy, belles-letters and theology may be more widely felt in our country. He has indeed already done much for German literature among us and has acquired a high reputation as a lecturer on civil law."

Although it is rather difficult to ascertain definitely whether Follen had any direct influence on such students of German thought as Emerson, Ripley, Alcott, Parker, Clarke, and Margaret Fuller, we know of a certainty that he stood in personal relation with most of them; and this in itself is sufficient to warrant the conclusion that they received from him, either directly or indirectly, at least some of their inspiration for German studies.

Emerson lived in Divinity Hall at that time, and although he took no part in the regular exercises of the Divinity students, there can be no doubt that he became well acquainted with Follen and his religious views. To Carlyle he wrote in 1835:² "We know enough about Goethe and Schiller here to

¹ From an editorial in the *Western Messenger*, Louisville, October, 1836.

² *Emerson-Carlyle Correspondence*, 55.

have some interest in German literature. A respectable German here, Dr. Follen, has given lectures to a good class upon Schiller. I am quite sure that Goethe's name would now stimulate the curiosity of scores of people." But as early as 1827 Follen was already discussing Goethe in the Ladies' reading circle, as his diary shows, and probably continued to do so in his lectures on German literature in the College from 1830 to 1835.

George Ripley was another of Channing's circle and he met Follen in all probability as early as 1827. Frothingham remarks¹ that Hedge's article on Coleridge in the *Christian Examiner* for March, 1833, in which he commended Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, was praised by Ripley and was doubtless of potent influence in determining the latter's bent of mind. It seems more likely, however, that Ripley's impulse to the study of German literature and philosophy came from Follen, for the latter was lecturing on German philosophy in the Divinity School in 1828-'30, and his Inaugural Address on German literature called forth in the *Christian Examiner* a complimentary review by Ripley in 1832. It is not within the scope of this investigation to give an account of Ripley's great enthusiasm for German theology and literature;² let it suffice to say that from this time on he contributed to the *Examiner* many articles on these subjects and became an ardent defender of Spinoza, Schleiermacher, and De Wette in that famous controversy with Professor Andrews Norton, who had accused these philosophers of atheism and irreligion.

Theodore Parker began his education in Harvard in 1830, just at the time when Follen was made professor of German literature, and it was probably from this source that he received his first inspiration for German thought. "The study of German was added to French and Spanish, and he learned

¹ *Life of Ripley*, 96f.

² Dr. Jaeck's work on *Madame de Staël and the Spread of German Literature* gives an excellent account of the Transcendentalists' interest for German learning. It seems probable, however, that their inspiration was due far more directly to Follen than to de Staël's de L'Allemagne.

to write as well as read these languages."¹ A few years later there was organized in Boston a "Society of Friends of Progress" under the leadership of Dr. Channing. Its meetings were for a free and bold discussion of all current subjects of theology and social life. Here Parker found the charm of good companionship in the persons of such men as Hedge, Ripley, Alcott and Follen.² It was the study of German that exercised the dominant influence upon his life. Through its medium he was brought into contact with German theology and philosophy; and Kant, Goethe, Schleiermacher, and De Wette opened his eyes to the new possibilities of Biblical interpretation. In consequence of this assimilation of German thought he gave to Unitarianism a still greater breadth and freedom of thought, and to American letters a richer and more unrestrained literary self-expression.

When Bronson Alcott went to Boston to establish his infant school Follen was one of the first men he consulted concerning his project.³ From this time on, November, 1828, he was on intimate terms with Follen and associated with him not only in the meetings of the Channing circle, but also in those of the famous Transcendental Club, which Follen attended occasionally.⁴

Margaret Fuller was one of the most remarkable leaders and expounders of German thought in this country. She was born in Cambridge in 1810 and lived there until 1833. Prior to Follen's arrival she had read Mme. de Staël's book, and through her friend F. H. Hedge she had become interested in Germany. According to J. F. Clarke, who was her constant companion during his college life, she began the study of German early in 1832. He states⁵ that both were attracted toward German literature at the same time by the writings of Carlyle, and that in about three months from the time that Margaret

¹ Weiss, *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, I, 49.

² Ibid., 105.

³ *Memoirs of Bronson Alcott*, I, 118.

⁴ Ibid., 289.

⁵ *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, I, 114.

began to study the German language she was reading with ease its literary masterpieces. She began without a teacher, but was aided and encouraged by Clarke, who was at that time studying under Follen. Her family moved in the social and intellectual circles of Cambridge, and it is very probable that she often met Follen on social occasions and heard accounts of his discussions of Goethe in the ladies' reading circle. Follen's Inaugural Address, published in the autumn of 1831, was the best general account of German literature that had appeared up to that time and it attracted universal attention and comment. Immediately after this Margaret Fuller began to study German. In the winter of 1832-'33 Follen delivered his first course of public lectures on Schiller; and these, too, attracted the attention of Boston and Cambridge intellectual circles. Immediately after this Margaret Fuller wrote in her diary in January, 1833:¹ "I have now a pursuit of immediate importance: to the German language and literature will I give my undivided attention. I have made rapid progress for one quite unassisted;" and in June she made the following entry:² "I don't like Goethe as well as Schiller now. I mean, I am not so happy in reading him. That perfect wisdom and merciless nature seems cold after these seducing pictures of forms more beautiful than truth." Carlyle's articles on German literature began to appear at least five years prior to this, yet we find in the diary no such entries concerning her enthusiasm for German, as the above, until after Follen's lectures on Schiller. Concerning the major influences that turned Margaret Fuller toward the field of German thought it would probably not be far out of the way to sum up the matter thus: Mme. de Staël prepared the soil, Follen sowed the seed, and Carlyle supplied the sunshine and showers for the future harvest.

Although the Göttingen men paved the way for the introduction of German learning there is no doubt that Follen's influence at Harvard was one of the greatest forces then at work in the promotion of it in this country. The introduction

¹ Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, 41.

² *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, I, 117.

of the German language and literature was valuable not only per se, but contributed largely to a broader and deeper study of all the other great departments of knowledge; history, biology, theology, archæology, economics, and especially philosophy,—subjects in which the German scholars were unrivaled. At the beginning of the 19th century the German university more than any other gave careful and systematic training in the use of libraries and laboratories, inculcated the habit of independent thought and research, quickened the creative instinct, and engendered a spirit of freedom both in teaching and in learning. Its highest ideal was the pursuit of truth, its highest aim the emancipation of the human spirit. *Wissenshaft, Lernfreiheit, Lehrfreiheit* was the motto of the German universities, and this was the ideal which Follen and the Göttingen men brought from Germany for the enrichment and enlargement of higher education in America. Some of the young men who became later the writers and critics of the day came under the direct influence of Follen at that time and were probably directly or indirectly inspired by him to the study of German intellectual life.

The collective influence of these earliest pioneers of German learning both on Harvard College and on American thought was very great. It helped to break up that intellectual sterility which had resulted from the isolation of a merely colonial life and prepared the way for the vast modern growth of colleges, schools, and libraries in this country. In the opinion of Thomas Wentworth Higginson ¹ "it culminated later in the brilliant Boston circle of authors, most of whom were Harvard men and all of whom had felt the Harvard influence."

CHAPTER II.

HIS RELATION TO UNITARIANISM.

According to his Inaugural Address Follen's conception of literature was so comprehensive that he included in it not only the products of poetry and philosophy, but of theology

¹*Harvard Graduate Magazine*, VI, 17f.

as well. A discussion of his activity as a promoter of German studies in America must therefore of necessity proceed to the consideration of his endeavors in the field of religion, and of its historical relation to contemporary movements in the same field.

THE INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS IN EUROPE IN THE
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

By the middle of the 18th century the sensualistic philosophy of Hobbes and Locke had come to dominate the life and thought of French and English civilization, while similarly in Germany the predominant feature of the intellectual life was the abstract rationalism which Wolff had deduced from the philosophy of Leibniz. The general rationalistic attitude of mind during the period of enlightenment was based essentially upon sense perception; human knowledge was limited partly by the bounds of so-called experience and partly by abstract logical reasoning. In religion the dogmatic assumptions of the church were rejected and all belief was made dependent upon the dictates of reason. This rationalistic method of thought extended also to the field of general literature, which now became didactic, formal, unimaginative,—a product merely of the understanding. Artificiality, materialism and skepticism finally came to reign supreme. The age of reason was at its height.¹

Gradually, however, in the second half of the century a reaction set in; a movement for spiritual emancipation, for freedom from the intellectualistic bondage in which the human mind was held by laws and traditions. This movement reverted to man's instincts and feelings; to his original human rights. It was therefore an effort to revolutionize life by emancipating the individual from the fetters of dry reason, from conventional ethics, orthodox intolerance, and time-worn literary traditions; an attempt to enlarge man's spiritual life by directing him back to the simplicity of nature; a reassertion of the rights of the heart along with those of the head. Artificiality began now to yield to nature, cosmopolitanism to

¹ W. Windelband, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, 366ff.

patriotism, skepticism to optimism, and materialism to idealism. Rousseau admonished his contemporaries to listen only to the voice of the heart, to obey only the primitive instincts, to pay homage only to the universal laws of life. Hamann maintained that the visible and tangible, whatever can be demonstrated and taught, cannot be final; that the universe is permeated by forces which lie beyond mortal vision. Herder applied Rousseau's doctrine of return to nature to the field of literature, and in accordance with Hamann's oracular saying that poetry is the mother-tongue of the race laid down the new doctrine that the best poetry is popular, naive, spontaneous, and not a product of conscious art.

In the domain of philosophy the old struggle between the realists and idealists was apparently still being waged. The great question was: Is all knowledge derived from without through the senses or does at least a part of it originate within the mind itself? By combining the theories of the idealists and realists Kant laid the foundation for modern intellectual life. By his searching analysis of the mind he demonstrated that from its very nature the intellect can deal only with the phenomenal world, and that the infinite is accordingly unknowable; but he pointed out further that while such ideas as God, immortality, and moral freedom cannot be demonstrated, they are nevertheless matters of intuitive knowledge. The distinction between Kant's Pure Reason and Locke's Human Understanding was the philosophic basis of the new idealism. Kant distinguished between the phenomenal world and its transcendental background, the thing-in-itself; Fichte maintained on the other hand that the thing-in-itself like its phenomena is only a product of the mind; while Schelling and the Romanticists held that both mind and matter, the inner and the outer world, are the product, in different stages of evolution, of a mysterious, all-pervading creative power whose existence they knew intuitively and whose nature they sought to understand and to reveal. By distinguishing between rational and empirical knowledge Kant established in his categorical imperative a new and exalted system of ethics; and upon the freedom of the will, which he postulated as the basis

of all moral action, Fichte, Schiller and Fries reared their systems of ethical idealism.

The close of the century marked the beginning of a new epoch in the evolution of religious thought also. With Herder a reaction set in against both rationalism and dogmatism; an attempt to establish a union between religion and culture, and to reconstruct theology on new lines; but it was Schleiermacher who gave a definite and classical expression to the movement. This he did in his famous "Reden über die Religion" which appeared in 1799. In these addresses he disclaims all pretension to an exposition of theological doctrine, but seeks simply to convince his skeptical contemporaries that religion is an essential element of human nature and therefore indispensable to the complete development of the inner life of man. In his attempt to present religion in its most sublime aspects he shows that its truth rests neither on tradition nor on miracles, neither on the church nor on the Bible, but on the soul's sense of the Infinite. In his "Glaubenslehre," which is a further development of the principles laid down in the "Reden," he seeks to show the relation of religious feeling to its different expressions in dogma, history, and creeds. The central thought of his system is that religion neither seeks like metaphysics to explain the universe, nor like morals to advance and perfect the world by the free will of man; it is not a set of dogmas, but an inner experience; it is neither thinking nor acting, but feeling. From a pious contemplation of the majesty and external order of the universe arises in the finite individual a consciousness of oneness with the infinite All and a feeling of dependence upon the Author of life. This feeling of identity with God and dependence upon Him is religion; it is a living reality and when it manifests itself in social fellowship it becomes a vital factor in the development of the human race.

Imbued with the scientific spirit Schleiermacher's writings freed protestant religion from the fetters of ecclesiasticism, thus laying the foundation for modern theology. For its philosophical basis this new movement rests upon the well-known distinction made by Kant between theoretical and prac-

tical reason. Through the influence of the Kantian philosophy Schleiermacher threw aside the possibility of knowing God by means of cognition and expounded the doctrine that religion is primarily an act of faith instead of a judgment of reason.

THEIR REFLEX IN NEW ENGLAND.

The rationalistic tendency which characterized the intellectual life of Europe in the 18th century found its counterpart in America in Boston Unitarianism. This was in its origin and narrower sense a reaction against Calvinistic theology, which prevailed in New England. In its broader aspect it was a part of the general liberal movement for freedom of thought, and release from traditional authority; an attempt to bring religion into harmony with science and philosophy. As early as the beginning of the century the rationalistic tendencies of English philosophy began to creep into the religious life of Boston through the works of such men as Chillingworth, Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Jeremy Taylor, and Samuel Clarke, whose tolerant liberal writings were read in New England throughout the century;¹ and the introduction through this source of the Arian and Arminian doctrines began gradually to exert a reactionary influence upon dogmatic theology. Between 1730 and 1750 many of the most eminent clergymen in Massachusetts, according to Josiah Quincy,² openly avowed doctrines which were denounced as Arian, Arminian, and Deistic; while books and pamphlets breathing a spirit of religious democracy quite at variance with the Calvinistic doctrine began to appear. This liberal trend of theology gradually developed along two lines: that of a demand for free enquiry, as represented by Jonathan Mayhew and his followers, and that of a protest against the harsher features of Calvinism, as represented by Charles Chauncy and the Universalists. When Mayhew was made pastor of the West Church in Boston in 1747 he was already familiar with nearly all the liberal writers of England and soon became the first outspoken Uni-

¹ Cooke, *Unitarianism in America*, 10f., 56.

² *History of Harvard University*, II, 23, 52.

tarian in New England.¹ Along with the silent advance of liberalism went hand in hand a gradual divergence of those who believed in the deity of Christ and those who believed in his subordinate nature. Through the adoption of a revised liturgy in 1785, in which their pastor, Rev. James Freeman, omitted all reference to the Trinity, the congregation of King's Chapel in Boston was the first to become avowedly Unitarian. From this time on the liberal movement grew rapidly. It was greatly promoted by the monthly Anthology, the official organ of a scholarly group of men known as the Anthology Club; and through the appointment of Henry Ware, an avowed Unitarian, to the Hollis professorship of Divinity at Harvard that stronghold of orthodoxy passed into the control of the liberals. Soon half of the old historic churches of Massachusetts went over to the liberal party, and by 1820 arose a definite division of the Congregational churches of New England into Trinitarian and Unitarian.²

The Unitarians formulated no creed, but left each clergyman free to preach whatever seemed to harmonize with reason and conscience; hence their main tendency was to emphasize the authority of conscience and the freedom of enquiry, while their chief aim was to harmonize revelation and reason, and to interpret the meaning of human life in a way compatible with nature and history. This common-sense method shows that the early Unitarians were as a rule under the influence of the sensuous philosophy of Locke;³ hence it was easy enough for them to shatter the foundations of orthodoxy by means of common intelligence and rational understanding. Their leaders, says Frothingham,⁴ were attracted to Tillotson and Paley more than to Cudworth and Butler, and were disquieted by mysticism, enthusiasm, and rapture; they were good scholars and accomplished men of letters, dis-

¹ Cooke, 35.

² Cf. such authorities as Walker, Ellis, Cooke, and Allen.

³ Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England*, 109.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 110.

tinguished by practical wisdom, sober judgment, and balanced thoughtfulness that weighed opinions in the scale of evidence and argument. This sums up the strength and the weakness of the early Unitarian movement: it was strong in reason, but deficient in feeling.

In his remarks¹ on college life at the time he entered Harvard in 1794 Dr. Channing observes that society was passing through a most critical stage due to the rationalistic tendency of the times, that reverence for the authority of the past was gone, and that the tendency of all classes was to skepticism. James Freeman Clark,² however, has given us the best characterization of the mental and spiritual condition of New England in the early decades of the 19th century: "Locke was still the master of the realm of thought; Addison and Blair in literary expression. In poetry, the school of Pope was engaged in conflict with that of Byron and his contemporaries. Wordsworth had led the way to a deeper view of nature, but he could scarcely be called a popular writer. In theology a certain liberalism prevailed, and the doctrines of Christianity were inferred from counting and weighing texts on either side. Not the higher reason, with its intuition of eternal ideas, but the analytic understanding, with its logical methods, was considered to be the ruler in the world of thought. There was more of culture than of intellectual life, more of good habits than of moral enthusiasm. Religion had become very much of an external institution. Christianity consisted of holding orthodox opinions, going regularly to church, and listening every Sunday to a certain number of prayers, hymns, and sermons. Channing, it is true, had looked with a new spiritual insight into the truths of religion and morality. But still the mechanical treatment prevailed in a majority of the churches, and was considered to be the wisest and safest method. There was an unwritten creed of morals, literature, and social thought to which all were expected to conform. There was little originality and much repetition.* * *

¹ *Life of Channing*, (Memorial Ed.), 30.

² *Nineteenth Century Questions*, 273f.

It was regarded as a kind of duty to think as everyone else thought; a sort of delinquency, or weakness, to differ from the majority."

The decade beginning with 1820, however, marks a new epoch in the spiritual history of New England. Unitarianism now entered upon a new stage of development, the so-called Transcendental movement, which was, like German Idealism, a reaction against the rationalistic spirit of the times. While the New England movement was essentially religious it possessed also the philosophical and literary phases of its German prototype. Philosophically it was a substitution of intuition for understanding; of the idealism of Kant and Fichte for English empiricism. In literature it drew its inspiration from Wordsworth, Coleridge, and the Germans. In religion it was spiritual rather than theological, supplanting dogmas and creeds by a search into nature and into the depths of the human heart for the divine element of all life. The unfettered mind began now to revel in beauty, poetry, and philosophy; and men were brought into closer touch with nature, literature, and life. The conservative Unitarians remained under the influence of English philosophy and classic literature; the radicals turned to the enthusiastic study of the romantic literature and idealistic philosophy of Germany.

Those who have written on later Unitarianism, the so-called Transcendental Movement, hold various views concerning the sources of it. Some regard it as an indigenous product, while others contend that it was largely imitative of foreign thought. According to Riley¹ those who grew up with the movement have held to the former view, maintaining that Emerson's system was formulated before he became acquainted with German thought, while later critics, more skilled in tracing historical sources, have inclined to the latter view, asserting that Emerson would have been ineffective had he not made use of foreign phraseology, such as was furnished by Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*. Frothingham, who grew up with the movement and became its historian, speaks thus:²

¹ *American Philosophy*, 12.

² *Transcendentalism in New England*, 115.

"By sheer force of genius Emerson anticipated the results of the transcendental philosophy, defined its axioms, and ran out their inferences to the end. Without help from abroad, or with such help only as none but he could use, he might have domesticated in Massachusetts an idealism as heroic as Fichte's, as beautiful as Schelling's; but it would have lacked the dialectical basis of the great German system."

Since idealism is the product of no special age or clime it had its devotees in New England, as might be expected, prior to the 19th century, the best type of whom was Samuel Johnson and Jonathan Edwards,¹ but with the advent of German thought it took on a new character. In regard to the origin of this new phase of idealism Frothingham may be quoted further as follows:² "To make intelligible the Transcendental philosophy of the last generation in New England it is not necessary to go far back into the history of thought. Ancient idealism, whether Eastern or Western, may be left undisturbed. Platonism and neo-Platonism may be excused from further torture on the witness-stand. The speculations of the mystics, Romanist or Protestant, need not be re-examined. The idealism of Gale, More, Pordage, of Cudworth and the later Berkeley, in England, do not immediately concern us. We need not even submit John Locke to fresh cross-examination, or describe the effect of his writings on the thinkers who came after him. The Transcendental philosophy, so-called, had a distinct origin in Immanuel Kant."

W. H. Channing has perhaps stated ³ better than anybody else the nature of this new movement: "Transcendentalism was an assertion of the inalienable integrity of man, of the immanence of Divinity in instinct. In part it was a reaction against Puritan Othodoxy; in part, an effect of renewed study of the ancients, of Plato and the Alexandrians, of Plutarch's Morals, Seneca, and Epictetus; in part the natural product of the culture of the place and time. On the somewhat

¹ Riley, 63ff.

² *Transcendentalism in New England*, 1.

³ *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, II, 12f.

stunted stock of Unitarianism—whose characteristic dogma was trust in individual reason as correlative to Supreme Wisdom—had been grafted German Idealism, as taught by masters of most various schools—by Kant and Jacobi, Fichte and Novalis, Schelling and Hegel, Schleiermacher and De Wette, by Mme. de Staël, Cousin, Coleridge, and Carlyle, and the result was a vague yet exalting conception of the godlike nature of the human spirit. Transcendentalism, as viewed by its disciples, was a pilgrimage from the idolatrous world of creeds and rituals to the temple of the Living God in the Soul.”

After discussing the various causes that contributed to the rise of the movement Goddard concludes thus:¹ “But now from this insistence on the complexity of the sources of transcendentalism and on the impossibility of assigning absolutely their respective importance, it is nevertheless proper to recur to an acknowledgment of the large element of truth in the widely accepted theory that New England transcendentalism was a German importation. The extent of the admissible generalization seems to be this. The original stimulus to the strictly metaphysical part of transcendental thought came fairly largely, but by no means exclusively, from Germany.”

Through the medium of Mme. de Staël's celebrated work on Germany, an English translation of which appeared in 1813, the first meager account of German literature and philosophy reached America. The return of the Göttingen men a few years later awakened still more interest in this direction. A few New England scholars came in contact with German thought in so far as this was expounded in Coleridge's “*Biographia Literaria*,” which appeared in 1817. A still greater impulse to the study of German, however, was given by Follen, who began at once to awaken a keen interest in German cultural ideals when he reached Cambridge in 1825, and from this time on translations and reviews of German works increased rapidly. Through the influence of the Göttingen men German literature and philosophy were just beginning to ruffle the surface of the intellectual life of Boston,

¹ *Studies in New England Transcendentalism*, 110 (Dissertation in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University).

but it is safe to say that Follen was the only man in New England who had a comprehensive knowledge of these subjects. Both by education and nature Follen was well qualified to enter as an influential factor into the later Unitarian movement.

FOLLEN'S RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.

In addition to the foregoing historical background a short account of the development of Follen's religious nature will serve as the starting point from which to discuss his religious activity in this country.

The predominant characteristic of Follen's nature was an intense love of freedom combined with a deep mystic piety, which manifested itself in moral action through the force of will-power—a trait of character which from his earliest youth remained the guiding principle of his whole life. When he was a mere child he displayed thus early an intuitive knowledge of ethical values as indicated by his expression, "Father I forgive you," after receiving a severe punishment from his high-tempered parent.¹

His early training, however, was in accordance with the skeptical spirit of the age. Although he was baptized in the Lutheran church and learned his catechism he was not at all receptive to the dogmatic theology of the times. In speaking of his early religious character his step-mother said² that the principles of the Unitarians had even then begun to engage his attention; that he occasionally spoke with much depth and feeling about them to his father, who agreed with him on this subject. Although he had the greatest admiration for the life and character of Christ, as pointed out at the beginning of this treatise, he did not accept the orthodox view concerning Christ's nature. This is probably what his step-mother meant by the above observations, for in after years he stated³ explicitly that Christianity was according to his early views a

¹ *Works*, I, 6.

² *Ibid.*, 1, 10.

³ Cf. Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, VIII, 545.

superstition of the ignorant classes, only less tasteful in its imaginary objects than those presented by the symbolic mythology of Greece and Rome. Not until after he had entered the university did he read the Bible; concerning his first impulse thereto he gave some years later an account¹ something as follows:

As an examination for entrance to the university he was required to write upon the theme: "How can a man die for a cause?" Since he had never reflected upon the subject he could consequently think of nothing to write. Under the stress of necessity he asked himself how he was to derive power to start a strain of thought on the theme. In this quandary it occurred to him that since effort produces thoughts more or less true, finite mind must have a certain relation to a Fountain of mind, to which it can aspire and thereby realize an inspiration of truth. This attainment of truth through an effort of mind proved to him the existence of an infinite Spirit in living relation with him. Thus he seemed to discover a Living God, who was his father. This was a primal act of faith and the beginning of a new era in his life. The idea of a living communion with his Creator gave him a flood of light, and with faith that power would be given him to accomplish his task he concentrated his mind upon his subject and easily wrote his examination. This successful effort he considered as prayer and the answer thereto. He began by pondering on those objects which had induced various historical characters to give up their lives, finding that all such acts of self-sacrifice were acts of men at the summit of their energies, and implied a duality of nature, which is the distinctive human characteristic. No animal voluntarily gives up life. What then, he asked himself, is this that stands above the animal life and in sovereign power gives away life itself? The fact that there is something mortal which man can give away proved to him that there must be something immortal in the consciousness of the giver. The truth of this idea in Follen's mind was the turning point of his life; it was the consciousness of a spiritual birth.

¹ Cf. Miss Peabody's *Reminiscences of Channing*, 213ff.

Follen was now desirous of investigating and comparing the various religions of the world. The nucleus of the popular religion was the death of Christ, and he now looked into the New Testament for the first time, investigating the circumstances and seeking the motives of this death. With a decided inclination toward religious speculation his theological studies at the university tended to increase his critical attitude toward Christianity, making him unwilling to be guided by sentiment alone or to accept religious doctrine unless it coincided with his highest reason. As soon as he became conscious of his skepticism he applied himself to the study of the English Deists, the French Encyclopædists, the German Idealists, and the Pantheistic writers, in order to investigate all the arguments for and against the Christian religion, emerging with a firm and joyous faith. "For myself," he said,¹ "I can certainly say that next to the Gospel itself the books written against it have been the most efficient promoters of my belief in its divine truth."

Follen's enlarged faith, however, was something more perfect, more spiritual, than what he found in the general religious life of the times. That it was out of harmony with the established doctrine of the orthodox church is evident from his conflict with the Calvinistic clergy in Switzerland where in his lectures on the history of Christianity he gave expression to his radical views concerning God, Christ, and salvation. His new faith was born of the new philosophy, the ethical idealism, that had caused the great religious awakening of the wars of liberation. His desire to renovate both Church and State was due not only to his mystic piety and moral bent of mind, but also to the influence of Kant, Fichte, Schiller, Fries and Schleiermacher, whose doctrines he had thoroughly assimilated. Concerning the religious views of this period of his life and the influence which the failure of his political hopes had upon him, he speaks thus in the preface to his tract on Religion and the Church:² "When I was pursuing my studies in a German university I felt strongly impressed with the in-

¹ *Works*, I, 56.

² *Works*, V, 254ff.

efficacy of the established forms of faith and worship. Their unfitness to satisfy the spiritual wants of my own nature, and to quicken the religious affections and energies of the people, called up to mind the image of a Universal Church, a church of mankind, having no other foundation and support than the natural interests of men in religion. The true interests of the church, that is, the religious interests of man, seemed to me most effectually secured by relying wholly and solely on the principles of individual freedom, and intimate spiritual intercourse among men, and the tendency to infinite progress in human nature."

PLAN OF A RELIGIOUS REFORM.

This early philosophic vision never faded from Follen's mind, but continued to grow clearer and more inspiring to action. When crossing the Atlantic to commence life anew in this country he was already forming plans to carry out his long-cherished scheme of religious philanthropy "as the only star of promise amidst the gloom of disappointed hopes," as he expressed it.¹ From several of his letters and portions of his diary published in his Works it is evident that he began a keen observation of the religious life and institutions around him as soon as he landed in this country. In one of these letters² descriptive of American life, written to his parents less than a month after his arrival, he observes "that much depends here on religious sentiment, but nothing on religious opinion; one may declare himself an atheist, a heathen, or a Christian." He was glad to note a general interest in religion and also complete freedom in matters of religious belief; but on the other hand the fact that the religious sentiment displayed seemed to him to be rather a matter of dogma and sectarian belief than the expression of pure religious feeling convinced him at once that the religious life of America was as much in need of a thorough renovation as that of Europe. That this conviction not only strengthened his long-cherished

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., I, 148.

scheme of religious philanthropy, but also led him from the very outset to decide definitely upon a movement for a radical reform of ecclesiastical and religious life in this country is shown conclusively by a letter ¹ written from Philadelphia on the 31st of August, 1825, to his old Giessen friend, Christian Sartorius, in Mexico. After making some general observations on American life, he discusses a scheme for constitutional reform in the United States and then proceeds as follows to outline the plan of his proposed religious reform:

"I have still another plan, on which I desire to have your opinion in your next letter. Here, where complete freedom of conscience prevails, new sects are springing up daily, which indicates a vague religious aspiration. The chief defect, however, which all churches and sects have had since the earliest times is this: that they are founded upon dogmas, upon a definite confession of faith. Everyone is reared in some creed, and so complies as a rule with that which his sponsors promised in his stead at his christening. This rests upon a complete misunderstanding of rational human nature, which impels man to a continuous perfecting of his character as also of his religious conviction. On the other hand all churches have hitherto presupposed that religion consists in the acceptance and adherence to a definite confession of faith. I say: Religion is piety. This consists in letting one's self be guided by God in all his actions, that is, in striving 'to be perfect as his Father in Heaven is perfect', as Christ says. The Church is the covenant of piety, through which men mutually join to exalt themselves in feeling (in devotion) to God, to gain as adequate a conception of God as possible, and to make pious resolutions. As to the conception of God, through which the feeling and will are guided, it is two-fold: imagination and knowledge. It is art which directs the imagination toward God: Architecture, painting, music, and poetry must create for a deep veneration of God, for that most sublime inner feeling, a corresponding outward expression. Intellectual power, by virtue of which we are convinced of God's existence, is thereby promoted, so that every one in the religious assembly can fully

¹ Follen-Briefe, No. 12, *Jahrbuch D. A. H. G.*, XIV, 26ff.

express his doubts as well as his faith, rendering it necessary on the part of the speaker to be cautious only in the order and dignity of his utterances, just as in a law-making body. In addition to this the appointment of clergymen is highly advantageous: namely of men who are able, by being relieved from the necessity of working for a living, to devote their whole talent to the study of all the different religious systems. Thereby scientific knowledge and the independent thought of each individual will be combined. It should be the duty of the clergyman to address the congregation if nobody else wishes to. Of course there must be executive officials also.

"In this way I believe the church should be founded, not on a dead confession of faith, but upon a living, ever-growing conviction. Unfortunately my study of English law leaves me very little time for making a written statement of my ideas and for spreading them abroad, concerning which nobody in America has thus far any knowledge except Beck and Kahl. I have reasons for keeping silent about it until the whole plan is matured. In this manner it is possible to put an end forever to all schisms, while in the one general church each sect shall appear merely as the representative of one of a number of confessions, all of which are important for the information of the whole church."

The views which Follen expresses in this letter agree in the main with the principles laid down in Schleiermacher's religious writings, viz., the repudiation of unreasoning devotion to creeds; the differentiation of dogma and religion; the union of all sects into one church; the conception of religion as feeling, piety, and reverent contemplation of God; the sublime work of nature and art as the expression of an immanent Deity, as a symbol through which the mind and heart are directed toward the one eternal God; and the Christian Church as an association of pious men for mutual aid and cultivation of a closer relation to God. These ideas of religious reform were brought by Follen from Germany and were wholly independent of any American influence. In all probability he knew little or nothing of the New England movement when this letter was written.

INTERCOURSE WITH CHANNING.

W. E. Channing is usually called the forerunner of the new movement. At any rate his famous Baltimore sermon¹ in 1819, not only marked the climax of rational Unitarianism, but in its allusion to the dignity of human nature, the power of moral intuition, and similar ideas, struck a new chord. That he felt the need of the times is evident from the following excerpt from a letter written in praise of Wordsworth in 1820: "I wish to see among Unitarians," he says, "a development of imagination and poetical enthusiasm, as well as of the rational and critical powers * * * I have before told you how much I think Unitarians have suffered from union with a heart-withering philosophy. I will now add that it has suffered also from a too exclusive application of its advocates to biblical criticism and theological controversy, in other words, from a too partial culture of mind. I fear that we must look to other schools for the thoughts which thrill us, which touch the most inward springs, and disclose to us the depths of our souls." By birth and education Channing was a rationalist and clung to the philosophical traditions of the conservatives—the sensuous philosophy of Locke; by nature he was an idealist and sympathized with the views of the radicals.² That he welcomed and assimilated much of the spirit of German idealism is attested by his biographer in the following statement:⁴

"Nothing characterized him more than the youthful eagerness with which he greeted the advent of every newly discovered truth. He was 'not a watcher by the tomb, but a man of the resurrection'. He lived in the mountain air of hope. And at this period of his life he was breathing in the freshness with which the whole intellect of Christendom seemed inspired, as it pressed onward across the wide prairie which the science, philosophy, poetry, and revolutionary tendencies of the age had

¹ From the text, Prove all things; hold fast that which is good (I Thes. V, 21); cf. *Works of Channing*, 367ff.

² *Life of Channing*, 276.

³ Cf. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism*, 110.

⁴ *Life of Channing*, 274f.

opened. It was with intense delight that he made acquaintance with the master minds of Germany, through the medium, first, of Madame de Staël, and afterwards of Coleridge. He recognized in them his leaders. In Kant's doctrine of the Reason he found confirmation of the views which, in early years received from Price, had quickened him to ever deeper reverence of the essential powers of man. To Schelling's sublime intimations of the Divine life everywhere manifested through nature and humanity, his heart, devoutly conscious of the universal agency of God, gladly responded. But above all did the heroic stoicism of Fichte charm him by its full assertion of the grandeur of the human will. Without adopting the system of either of these philosophers, and, fortunately perhaps for him, without being fully acquainted with these systems, he yet received from their examples the most animating incentives to follow out the paths of speculation into which his own mind had entered."

In addition to the foregoing statement that Channing was introduced to German thought by Mme. de Staël, and that his interest in it was greatly stimulated by Coleridge and Carlyle, it is said¹ that he gained still more knowledge of it through the medium of Margaret Fuller, who often translated for him passages from the works of such writers as De Wette, Herder, and Goethe. This is all true, but it is not the whole truth. It is safe to say that he learned from Mme. de Staël very little German philosophy itself. Although he had met Coleridge personally in 1822 and had prior to that time been introduced to the transcendental philosophers of Germany through the medium of short extracts contained in the "Biographia Literaria,"² it is probable that he did not derive much knowledge on the subject from Coleridge until James Marsh republished in this country the *Aids to Reflection* in 1829. The first information he received from Carlyle was from the latter's essays on Goethe and German literature, which began to appear in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1827. From Margaret Fuller he received

¹ *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller*, I, 175f.

² Cf. Miss Peabody's *Reminiscences of Channing*, 76.

no aid until 1836. As early as the winter of 1826-'27, however, Follen had become a welcome guest at his home and at once entered into close intellectual intercourse with him, discussing with him questions pertaining to German literature, theology, and philosophy—a fact which seems to have been overlooked by those who have written on the Transcendental movement in New England.

In the autumn of 1826 Follen was invited to attend an informal gathering of Sunday School teachers who met fortnightly in Dr. Channing's study to discuss the subject of religious education. This was his first personal acquaintance with Channing and the beginning of a warm, abiding friendship with him. To Miss Peabody we are indebted for a vivid description¹ of this meeting. According to her account the subject of the evening was the significance of the death of Christ. During a pause in the discussion Channing, in glancing around the room filled with people, observed Follen quite hidden behind the rest, and with a desire to draw him out, to see perhaps if there was anything in him worth hearing, asked him whether he had anything to say on the subject. Being extremely modest he blushed deeply and hesitated for an instant, but then arose and proceeded with great simplicity and earnestness, in a speech worded with the greatest felicity of expression, to state the views of Christ's death which had made him a Christian. Miss Peabody observes that the audience sat quite entranced at his exceedingly individual and impressive narration of his deep inner experience: "Dr. Channing was entirely absorbed, his countenance growing brighter at every word. He saw he had struck a mine, for here was a man whose religion was not an inheritance, nor an imitation, nor a convention of society, but the covenant of a consciously finite being with God. From that moment was cemented a friendship that never had a shadow of misunderstanding fall upon it, but was a perfect mutual respect and tender love."

Follen was a great acquisition to these meetings as his biographer observes: "His free and independent thought, and the frank, fearless expression of his opinions, encouraged

¹ Ibid., 213ff.; also *Sprague's Annals*, VIII, 544ff.

others to think and speak freely; while his unaffected respect for the views of others, and the place of a learner, which his modesty always led him to take for himself, made him the model of all. When he spoke of spiritual realities, of his faith in a future life, everyone felt that he spoke of what he believed, and that immortality had already commenced in him."¹ He made such a favorable impression upon his new friends that he was urged to enter the ministry, and after a short consideration of the matter made known to Dr. Channing his decision to accept the call. One must not conclude, however, that this step was especially due to the importunities of his friends. During his first year in Cambridge he had become acquainted with the Unitarian movement and found that it showed phases and tendencies which coincided in the main with those ideals which he had brought with him from Germany. Here then was the opportunity to proceed with his plan for religious reform which he had sketched in his letter to Sartorius the previous year. He now took up the matter with Dr. Channing, receiving from him much sympathetic aid and friendly counsel for his preparation.

In December of this same year (1826) he wrote to his father as follows:² "Channing is the most distinguished preacher in the United States and stands at the head of the Unitarians, that is, of that religious sect, who regard Christ as a divinely inspired, perfect man, and who reject the Trinity. To this doctrine belong the best informed men of this State; and it was very delightful to Dr. Channing to learn through me, that a great number of German Lutherans thought with him. I have had much conversation with him, especially on philosophical subjects, and we agree about them in all essential particulars. He is, besides, my very warm friend, and the firmest spiritual stay and staff which I have here."

Follen and Channing kept in constant touch either in person or by correspondence. The letters which they exchanged during the summer of 1827 indicate their deep regard

¹ *Works*, I, 172.

² *Ibid.*, I, 167.

for each other as also the mutual benefit which they derived from their intimate association. While absent in New York, in May, Channing wrote to Follen concerning the death of the latter's friend and compatriot, Dr. Bardili, in that city, closing his letter as follows: ¹ "This event may be used by us to confirm in us that spirit of self-sacrifice, of which we have so often spoken. When we see what a vapor life is, how suddenly dissolved, we should dismiss our anxiety about prolonging it, and count that man the most privileged, who, instead of wasting it in efforts to escape its end, offers it up freely in the cause of God and man, of freedom and religion. I owe to you some interesting views on this subject, and hope to renew our conversation on my return."

To this letter Follen replied in July. Two short passages of his letter ² concerning immortality and the Deity may be quoted here: "It is gratifying to my feelings that my friend, before his death, has seen you, and beheld in your eyes the reflection of that look of love which was soon to welcome him to heaven. There, in a wider sphere of exertion and enjoyment, I hope to meet him again, with many of those privileged of men who, 'instead of wasting their life in efforts to escape its end, have offered it up freely in the cause of God and man, of freedom and religion.' I hope to meet him there, if my exertions do not fall short of my ardent desire to keep, as Milton says, in tune with heaven. And in this respect I owe to you, my most excellent friend, much more than I am capable of expressing. * * * There are several theological subjects concerning which I desire your opinion and advice. But my mind is now unfortunately so much distracted with different occupations, that all my attempts at writing down a series of thoughts prove unsuccessful. Yet, while the minor faculties of the mind are engaged in transitory pursuits, the deepest and fondest exertions of my soul are directed to that universal Mind, which is revealed in the creation and in the highest results of inspired wisdom. The more my mind presses on

¹ Ibid., I, 174.

² Ibid., I, 175ff.

toward that all-seeing Light, so much the more its warmth expands and attracts my heart, as if to assure me, that wisdom and love, as well as light and warmth, flow from the same eternal source." This somewhat pantheistic conception of God along with his warmth of religious feeling shows again the influence of Schleiermacher.

At the close of the letter Follen expresses a desire to spend the month of August with Channing at Newport, where the latter was taking his summer vacation, in order to receive some assistance from him on a series of lectures on religion which he was preparing. To this Channing replied as follows:¹ "I thank you for your kind letter. It was, of course, gratifying to me. To know that I have contributed at all to the peace and progress of such a mind as yours is a great happiness. I wish you to feel that you have paid your debt. My interviews with you have been highly interesting; and I owe to them views and impressions, which have quickened and enriched my mind."

Channing procured lodgings for Follen near his own and gladly welcomed his arrival. The vacation was spent in the closest friendly association, in walks and drives and scholarly discussions. "He has often spoken to me," says Follen's biographer,² "of the high enjoyment he derived from the free, intimate communion he had this summer with his friend, Dr. Channing. The highest and holiest subjects were the themes of their conversation. They often took very different views. But as truth, not victory, was ever their object their differences of opinion served to shed more light upon the mind of each, and to add another charm to their affectionate and happy intercourse."

In the autumn of 1827 the teacher's meetings at Dr. Channing's were resumed and Follen was always present as one of the leaders in the discussion of the evening. Through their close association during the summer vacation Channing began to recognize more clearly than ever that Follen was no

¹ Ibid., I, 178.

² Ibid., I, 179.

ordinary man, and from this time on the latter was a regular visitor at his home. About this time Follen began to keep a diary, which he continued for a period of nearly four months, recording many of his conversations and discussions with some of the main leaders of the Unitarian movement. His biographer has given us some "extracts"¹ from this journal with the statement that much has been withheld from publication on account of its personal nature. If the complete record were available it would perhaps throw much new light upon Follen's importance for the development of later Unitarianism, but the "extracts" alone indicate to some extent what an important role he was playing in the intellectual life of Cambridge, apart from his activity as instructor in German in the College. This incomplete record from November 5th to February 26th shows that in addition to attending the regular fortnightly meetings at Dr. Channing's, Follen spent on the average at least one evening per week with him in private discussion of religious, philosophical, and sociological subjects. Among the questions discussed such as the following may be mentioned: The personality of God; the nature of Christ; immortality; free agency; moral and religious education; Christianity as a particular form of religion; religious instruction of children; the value of imaginative literature and of fiction in general on the education of children; Schiller's idea of the cooperation of kindred minds for the discovery of truth. Besides discussing such subjects in general Channing often requested Follen to read to him from such works as Foster's *Rise and Progress of Religion*, Tennemann's *History of Philosophy*, and de Gerando's discussion of Kant's idealism. Many of these discussions gave Follen the opportunity, as the diary shows, to present not only the views of the greatest German minds, but to advance arguments of his own, some of which were new and interesting to Channing. One of the last entries in the diary shows that Channing decided under the inspiration of these discussions to study German.

The benefits derived from this close intellectual communion were of course mutual. It is quite probable that Channing

¹ Ibid., I, 182ff.

learned as much from Follen as the latter did from the former. It seems that a man like Channing would hardly have spent his valuable time one evening a week with Follen if the latter had not had something valuable to offer him. No one in Boston, not even in America, had at that time so broad a grasp on the modern system of German theology and philosophy as Follen, and it was probably to this rich fund of knowledge and its liberating spirit that Channing was attracted.¹ Although we have no record on which to rely, there is no reason to suppose that these private discussions were ever discontinued, for both lived near each other and remained intimate friends until Follen's death. Miss Peabody, who at that time usually spent her evenings at Channing's, observes² that she heard the two men talk together a great deal, and that while they often took very different views on special subjects they agreed on general principles. Although Channing, as we have seen, had become interested in German thought he seems to have been somewhat suspicious of it until after he came in contact with Follen, for according to Ripley³ he cautiously advised William Emerson in 1823 to study at Cambridge rather than at Göttingen since he believed that so far as moral influence and religious feeling were concerned a New England minister could obtain the best education at Cambridge. Between this date and the time he met Follen Channing had access to no other sources of information concerning German thought than he already possessed, but after a year's intellectual intercourse with Follen, perhaps far more extensive than the diary and correspondence indicate, Channing had become so greatly interested in German philosophy that he decided at the age of 48 to study the German language in order to gain a first-hand knowledge of German thought.

The purpose of this whole discussion is to show simply

¹ In her *Reminiscences of Channing*, 301, Miss Peabody states explicitly that Channing unaffectedly regarded Follen as his superior in learning and Christian character.

² Cf. *Sprague's Annals*, VIII, 546.

³ Cf. Frothingham, *Life of George Ripley*, 20f.

that if Channing actually recognized the master minds of Germany as his leaders, as his biographer asserts, Follen was in all probability one of the important sources of his information concerning their teachings. Although no attempt is made here to show that Follen in any way changed Channing's mature thought,¹ it seems reasonable to assume, however, that he did to some extent influence some of his later views. At any rate John White Chadwick, one of Channing's biographers and a man of critical insight and fine literary sense, speaks thus:² "I have seemed to find in Channing's later thought more of Follen's than of any other personal influence. Those tendencies in his preaching which were deplored as transcendental were quite surely, in some measure, developments of germs which fell into his own from Follen's fruitful mind."

The diary shows also that Follen associated intimately with other Unitarian leaders, such as Ware, Palfrey, Peabody, Higginson, and others, discussing with them theology, philosophy, and literature, and stimulating their interest in his broad, enlightened views on religion and ethics.

James Freeman Clarke, another of the great Unitarian leaders, owed his enthusiasm for German thought in some measure at least to Follen. He entered Harvard in 1825, the year before Follen began to teach German there, and was graduated with the class of 1829. He then entered the Divinity School and for another year was in direct touch with Follen. Clarke's high tribute to Follen, which has been quoted in the preceding chapter, may be taken as an expression of the general esteem in which he was held by at least some of the leaders of the Transcendental movement and an acknowledgment of his influence upon them.

As teacher of ethics in the Theological School Follen's sphere of influence was greatly increased, for this position not only brought him into closer relation with many prominent Unitarians outside of college circles, but also into close touch

¹ Follen wrote to Beck that Channing was always ready to accept the views of others if he found them better than his own. *Works*, I, 284.

² *William Ellery Channing*, 383.

with many of the theological students, who were afterwards to become prominent leaders of the new movement.

* * * * *

While the radical wing of the Unitarians hailed the great influx of German writings, the conservatives began to look askance at these philosophical and religious teachings, regarding them as contaminating and irreligious, and gradually arraying themselves against them. As this antagonism grew Follen sought in private and in public to dispel this erroneous notion. In his Inaugural Address he defends German philosophy as follows: 'While German speculation has in its attempts to solve the riddle of the universe produced some definite and important results its greatest value consists in the unwearied and never-satisfied striving of the mind to fathom and comprehend itself and that whole of which itself is only a portion. Jacob, who wrestled with the angel, bearing off in his lameness a revelation of omnipotence, is the true emblem of German philosophy. It is valuable chiefly as mental gymnastics to methodically unfold, invigorate, and refine the powers of the mind. Its genius is a spirit of laborious, thorough-going investigation into the nature of things,—an attempt to survey the whole region of faith and doubt, to investigate the origin and elements of all science, to analyze every conception and idea which we formulate in the domain of truth. This spirit of free inquiry has often been accused of a tendency to materialism and skepticism and to a denial of those spiritual realities which form the foundation of the Christian faith—the soul of man and the soul of the universe; but the fact is, that while the whole school of modern philosophy, both the French and the English, are advocates of materialism, the records of German philosophy from Leibnitz to Kant and his disciples do not exhibit the name of a single materialist or absolute skeptic. This phenomenon is not due to lack of freedom in expressing opinions different from those laid down by established creeds supported by government or by popular opinion, for in no country is there so much liberty in the profession of philosophical and religious opinions since the Reformation as in

Germany. The cause of this freedom is to be found in the very character itself of German philosophy, namely its loyalty to spiritual truth and its tendency to universal comprehensiveness. The philosophical tendency of the German mind has had a decided influence on every department of learning. Every branch of science from the highest to the lowest, from the works on religion and morality to those of agriculture and forestry are characterized by the same scientific method. It is to this faithful workmanship and exact painstaking method in literary criticism especially that the excellence of German literature is largely due.'

After this brief defense of German philosophy Follen added a few pertinent remarks on the progress of religious science in Germany: 'German scholars were especially pre-eminent,' he points out, 'in the fields of ecclesiastical history and biblical criticism. Nowhere have the primary and vital truths of divinity been so fully acknowledged and scientifically established as in the works of German philosophers and theologians such as Herder and Jacobi. These men conceive of religion not as a set of precepts inculcated by the church or the school, but as a native and indistructible principle of the heart; and theology not as the arbitrary fabric of a dogmatic and philosophizing imagination, but as the knowledge of the essence and source of all reality, the ultimate result of the most thorough study of nature and of man. Upon almost every doctrinal point there is a great variety of individual opinion, hence every theological work published must be considered as the author's own opinion and not the statements of any select group of people. Out of respect for the rights of individual judgment and for the spirit of free inquiry the public is inclined to hold in esteem every one whose conduct is marked by a sense of truth, justice, and benevolence, whatever be his religious sentiments; hence in expressing his own peculiar views, every one thinks chiefly of what seems true to himself and not of what he may gain or lose in society by a frank profession of his views. This freedom of thought has caused many to place the stamp of skepticism upon German theology, but unbelief in spiritual realities is really not indigen-

ous to the German mind. Even those who reject the historical facts of Christianity still embrace its spiritual essence; hence they cannot be classed as skeptics like the followers of Hume. Every German who has only a general acquaintance with the history of philosophy and who listens to the voices of the living and dead, speaking to him through their works, feels himself girt about by a host of witnesses to the reality and eternity of things not seen. If faith is the groundwork and if love, or a vital interest in perfection, in truth, goodness, and beauty, is the soul of religion, then it may be said that everyone who has enjoyed a German education has had his mind nurtured in religion and in it has lived and moved and had his being.'

It is not improbable that this defense of German theologians in the Inaugural Address, of which Ripley wrote an enthusiastic review in the *Christian Examiner*,¹ was the first inspiration to Ripley for his defense of Schleiermacher and De Wette against the charge of atheism made by Professor Norton.

VIEWS ON RELIGION.

Follen gave an exposition of his theory of the nature of religion partly in his lectures on moral philosophy and partly in a series of tracts² published in 1836. In his attempt to trace religion to its foundation he made use of no external authority, but appealed only to such facts as come under the observation of everyone who, as he said, uses his senses and reason. He addressed himself to no particular class of persons, but to all observing, thinking men and women in general, whether they regarded religion as the source of good or of evil, as a reality or a delusion, as a remarkable phenomenon of history or as a principle implanted in human nature. He did not advocate or oppose any particular creed or form of worship, for he was in full sympathy with everyone who refused assent to any system of faith that did not satisfy the enquiring mind. While his reason compelled him to reject the

¹ Vol. XI (1832).

² Given in *Works*, V, 254-313.

religious dogmas peculiar to each creed he had a deep religious sympathy for all, for he recognized in every form of faith, even in the fearless freedom of sincere skepticism the same vital principle. He maintained that the advocates of different systems should join in searching for this fundamental element of religion instead of fixing upon and defending against each other points upon which they disagree.

In answer to the question concerning the true essence of religion Follen replies¹ that it is a peculiar universal element of human nature; the highest manifestation of that principle of progress which we observe in the different orders of beings throughout creation. Not only in those systems which are supported by experience and sound analogical reasoning, but also in those which are not consistent with facts established by observation and history Follen sees the essential tendency of man to look beyond the finite in search of the infinite; and it is this impulse toward perfection, this tendency of human nature toward the infinite, that he considers the true substance of religion. The true religious principle, as he expresses it,² may be likened to the science of astronomy or of chemistry, while the different systems of faith in which it is garbed are as unstable as the dreams of astrology or the vagaries of alchemy. To use Follen's figure, the savage worships the rolling stone ascribing its motion to an indwelling power which his credulity has personified, but the scientist explains the motion as the necessary effect of gravitation. Since the savage and the philosopher worship the same mysterious power that is manifest in the rolling stone and in the system of rolling worlds, it is clear, Follen concludes, that true religion does not consist in the object of faith, but in the principle of faith.

The true element of religion like that of morality is, according to Follen's conception,³ the innate desire of man for the greatest happiness, but this desire, as he points out, does not identify religion with morality; it shows merely that both

¹ Ibid., 286f.

² Ibid., V, 270f.

³ Cf. Lectures, *Works*, III, 225f.

rest upon the same foundation. Morality, he explains, is the direction of the mind toward that happiness which results from a striving after the greatest efficiency, after perfection, while religion is the direction of the mind toward the happiness which results from the desire and belief that the world is so constituted and governed as to make possible the greatest perfection. The attainment of perfection depends not only upon man himself, upon his faculties and moral effort, but also partly, as Follen understands it, upon Providence, upon the power which has created the universe in such a way that man is aided in his striving after it. Man's desire and belief that the world be so organized and directed as to conform to his wants and needs is then, according to Follen's view, the foundation of religion, and from this desire and belief proceeds his restless striving after an ever-enlarging sphere of existence and action. Whether a person believes that this providential direction of the world is vested in the eternal laws of nature, in a polytheistic control, or in one supreme Deity who controls the course of events in such a way as to enable man to form his own character and to become the author of his own happiness or misery; or whether he believes this providential agency is independent of man's effort and must be secured by prayers or the magic power of priests,—all these various beliefs are only different forms of the same principle. The moral man, as Follen explains it, is like the husbandman who expects the harvest as a result of his own painstaking efforts in preparing the soil and sowing the seed; but the religious man recognizes that the seed sown will not yield the desired harvest unless sunshine and rain are sent by the Almighty's hand. From this standpoint religion is a feeling of dependence on God for physical and spiritual laws which will enable man to exercise all his faculties for the attainment of divine perfection, and which will give free scope to his natural tendency toward the infinite.

On the whole it may be said that Follen considers religion not as theological speculation, not as belief in dogmas, nor as moral actions, but as a pious contemplation of the harmonious workings of the universe; as a natural impulse toward and a

reverent feeling of dependence on the Infinite Spirit in whom we live and move and have our being—a view¹ quite in harmony with the doctrine of Schleiermacher. From Schleiermacher he accepts the view that religion is an innate principle of the soul, a feeling for the infinite, a sense of dependence on God. The orthodox party considered religion as an abstract doctrine for the promotion of morals; Kant considered morals as the basis of religion; but Follen like Schleiermacher maintains that although religion and morals are essentially connected and have a common foundation in human nature, they are nevertheless independent of each other. One of the greatest merits of Follen's system is the doctrine of the social nature of religion. He considers the church not as an instrument for moral education, but as an association of people seeking after religious truth through the mutual exchange of religious views. Since religious ideas are reflections of religious feelings, he believed that the greater the variety of them the better, since each individual is in this way more apt to find that which will satisfy his own peculiar needs.

While Follen's lectures on ethics and religion show the influence of Kant, Fichte, Schiller, Fries and Schleiermacher, they contain features also which demonstrate his originality as a thinker. On the whole they are a prophecy of freedom from beginning to end. It is to be presumed, however, that Follen did far more in his private conversations and in his two years' instruction in the Divinity School to promote a knowledge of German philosophical thought than he was able to do in his series of popular lectures. His broad and liberal interpretation of the New Testament, his doctrine of the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, moral freedom, the dignity of human nature, the incarnation of God in humanity, which is always progressing toward perfection, toward the divine life to come, must have made a deep impression upon those students who were later to enter into the new religious movement, tending to liberate them from the bondage of Calvinistic

¹ Follen was doubtlessly influenced in his religious views by Benjamin Constant's work on religion as indicated by quotations from this work in *Works*, III, 229f., and V, 255. In the *American Quarterly Review* (March, 1832) he gave a lengthy exposition of Constant's work.

theology and to inspire them with a sense of inner freedom. In his eulogy on Follen, W. H. Channing, one of the notable Transcendentalists, speaks as follows ¹ concerning his influence upon Harvard students: "It may be safely said that no young man ever passed through his classes without imbibing as by moral contagion, self-respect, honorable ambition, and courtesy. To many he gave the key to the richest tongue of modern times, and awakened a desire to explore and work the virgin mines of thought and feeling which that language opened up to them." Thus Follen was able to contribute in some measure to the preparation of the soil from which was to spring the religious movement of which he had vaguely dreamed.

In addition to his lectures on Ethics and Religion Follen gave publicity to his religious thought through the medium of the *Christian Teacher's Manual* ² also, one of the first Sunday School publications in New England. Although the articles in the Manual are all anonymous, there is both external and internal evidence that Follen was the author of many of them. The preface of the first volume, written by Follen, ³ states that the aim of the Manual is to assist both teachers and parents in their duties as religious instructors by providing them with such material and views as they might not otherwise be able to procure. Exchange of views, mutual cooperation for the discovery of knowledge, as Follen learned from Schiller, was the main object. Follen points out here that former attempts at religious instruction had not been accomodated to the minds of children, and that much light was needed on a subject so important to the young and to the interests of society. He wished to see religious feeling awakened in the church with all dogmatic views excluded. He advocated that the material for religious instruction should be taken chiefly from the works of God. His method was to lead the minds of the children to a knowledge and love of the universal Father by a study of the order and beauty of Nature. His aim was here

¹ *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII, 52ff.

² Edited by Mrs. Follen, Boston, April, 1828—April, 1830.

³ Cf. Follen's diary, *Works*, I, 240.

as in his lectures to show that religion and morals are closely connected; to make the teachers realize and through them to make the children feel that every time they were faithful to what is considered duty, every time they had a generous thought, every time they denied themselves anything from an idea of right, every time they obeyed conscience they pleased and obeyed God. Harangues on duty and explanation of scriptures, he emphasizes, have little effect on character or in calling forth religious feeling, but it is the incipient whispers of conscience that must be held as laws of conduct.

In various articles upon such questions as the subject-matter of lessons, the method to be pursued, requisites of religious teachers, lessons on the mind, the use and authority of reason in religious instruction, etc., Follen addressed himself to the Sunday School teachers, advocating the Pestalozzian principles of education, the Kantian and Fichtean systems of ethics, and Schleiermacher's doctrines of religion. It is not too much to presume that in this way he gave to a class of people outside of academic circles some insight at least into German thought. There are also in the Manual sketches of Herder's, Luther's, and Claudius' writings, which quite probably came from Follen's pen.

CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE AS A PREACHER.

From his youth Follen, as we have seen, had taken the deepest interest in questions pertaining to religion and morals, and his whole education had fitted him to become a religious teacher. With a heart full of love for humanity he was not content to devote his entire energy to the teaching of language and literature in Harvard, but desired a still broader sphere of influence in which to instruct his fellow men in the more momentous truths concerning the nature and destiny of man. This was his reason for entering the ministry.

In his loving contemplation of the wondrous harmony of the universe he recognized the essential relation of man to the external world. Thus impressed with the dignity of human nature he not only revered the divinity of his own soul, but

was inspired with a deep love for all mankind because he considered them the children of God. The nobility and immortality of the human soul was the central thought of his whole philosophic and religious interest; and the conception of man as a free moral agent, created to attain perfection, was the guiding principle of all his thinking as well as the abiding doctrine of his whole life. The emphasis which he placed upon the inherent nobility of human nature and the inalienable rights of the soul to free development toward perfection was in direct opposition to Calvinistic theology. In his extreme religious individualism he placed more confidence in truth as expressed by the conscience of the individual than in any external authority; hence he believed that the free spirit of man should not be bound by tradition, but that all dogmas and theories, whether social, political, or religious, should be tested by human reason and sentiment alone. He taught men to look at the world as it is without reference to dogmas and creeds; to see beauty everywhere; to seek God in nature and in their own souls; to make a heaven on earth, and to think of immortality as beginning here and now. This was a new way of looking at life, a new faith, a new religious belief quite different from the formalism and moralizing that gave the religious life of the time its chief stamp.

The purpose of the Christian ministry, as he conceived it,¹ is not to develop the religious character of men, but merely to aid them in its formation and to stimulate them in increasing their own exertions and responsibilities. To this end he applied himself diligently to the study of nature, theology, the Bible, and the life of Christ for the acquisition of exalting truth. He looked upon nature, especially human nature, as a temple of religious truth and used the Bible as a key to decipher the teachings inscribed upon its walls. His was no time-serving ministry. In his public services he spoke the truth as he felt it in his heart, and delivered his message as if he believed in its infinite importance. The main characteristic of his preaching was complete independence in thought and ex-

¹ *Works*, I, 494f.

pression. He was guided not by the likes and dislikes of his hearers, but by the consideration of what he deemed important for the formation of their religious character. A fearless, manly character, he gave clear and powerful expression to whatever he apprehended as truth, whether his hearers could accept it or not, confessing his doubts and beliefs regardless of the prejudices and opinions of his audience, often at the risk of his popularity and office. He was undaunted by the authority of any man; and although he had the greatest respect for the views of others, no consideration could restrain him from opposing firmly though courteously any traditional opinion which he conscientiously believed contrary to truth and justice, whether advocated by friend or foe. In order to make the broadest appeal he adapted his arguments to the capacities and wants of all, saint and sinner, believer or skeptic. Follen was a practical exponent of the views which he held concerning the duties of a Christian minister. He was actuated by a desire not merely to impart knowledge, but to unite his fellow men by a bond of love and fellowship; to make them feel that religion was not a mere speculation, but a living reality. In his private intercourse he was a man among men. As a spiritual guide he quickened the religious life of his people as much by his friendly social intercourse as by his intellectual powers, entering sympathetically into all their joys and sorrows, visiting the sick and afflicted and administering to the poor and needy. It was this genuine respect and love for men that made him so influential as a minister of the Gospel.

As a religious teacher Follen no doubt reached the climax of his influence during his ministry in New York. Besides his regular pastoral duties he gave his attention to all philanthropic enterprises and cooperated heartily with all benevolent associations so far as they appealed to his conscience. He gave also several courses of lectures on Unitarianism, another on the Domestic and Social Relations, one on German literature, and before the Brooklyn Lyceum a discourse upon Republicanism and Slavery.¹ These lectures made a deep im-

¹ Cf. *Works*, I, 462, 481, 473.

pression upon the intellectual circles of New York, and they received such favorable comment in the papers that he was invited to deliver the course on Unitarianism in Washington. This he did, preaching with such power and eloquence that he was offered the pastorate of the Unitarian Society in that city. But one of the greatest services that he rendered to the cause of liberal Christianity was to deliver a series of lectures¹ on the subject of Infidelity. As already noted, there was in New England at the beginning of the nineteenth century a general tendency to skepticism. This moral revolt against the spiritual bondage which the harsher features of Calvinism had imposed upon the minds of reasonable men was especially pronounced in New York, while Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason" and Fanny Wright's lectures had tended also to breed a spirit of general unbelief in all religious values. In his youth Follen had passed triumphantly through this same experience and knew how to sympathize with men who were struggling with doubts and unbelief. Imbued with a love of free and independent thought and desirous of aiding his fellow men in their progress toward perfection, he eagerly grasped this opportunity to present his views on religion and at the same time do justice to the so-called infidels. He knew that skepticism usually grows out of an earnest desire to be assured of the rational foundations of faith; therefore he maintained that it is as unjust to accuse a man of willful unbelief as to accuse a man of dishonesty, who, in casting up an account, makes an error disadvantageous to himself. He believed that honest skepticism must of necessity precede a reasonable faith; that both the individual and society can make intellectual and spiritual progress only by a free exchange of thought and a mutual confession of doubt.²

In the course of these lectures, as excerpts in his works show, he gave a discussion of the English Deists, the French Encyclopædists, Thomas Paine, and Fanny Wright, pointing out what he considered the false grounds and inconsistencies

¹ Excerpts of these lectures are given in *Works*, I, 445ff.

² *Ibid.*, I, 446.

upon which unbelievers base their arguments, and from passages in the "Age of Reason" proving to his own satisfaction that even Thomas Paine believed in God and immortality. He maintained that it is not only a duty but also advantageous to the unbeliever to examine the objections to Christianity, for any difficulty left unexamined would lead to doubt, whereas careful investigation might lead to conviction. Since his own belief in the divine truth of the Gospel had been promoted by studying the books written against it, he believed that a free and fair investigation of Christianity would open up an infinite sphere to free inquiry and thereby lead to a true and abiding faith. He characterized Christianity as a sublime philosophy adapted to the understanding of the child yet transcending the wisdom of the sage; as a system whose scientific character makes it one of the most efficient checks to imposition and blind credulity, and which should therefore neither be adopted nor rejected without earnest mental effort. The fact that the Bible teaches immortality, he says,¹ is no reason why one should not seek other evidence of this doctrine, for God has endowed man with an infinite desire to extend his knowledge, and unless he makes use of his intellect he can never feel that there is no reason for doubting. Follen told his audiences plainly that he could see no irreverence in questioning the doctrine of the Gospel, for to him it seemed that there could be no basis for an abiding belief in its truth unless its fundamental teachings could stand the test of reason; unless its principles could be considered a subject of free interpretation rather than a mere matter of fact and history. The Bible, he maintained,² gives us only the means of arriving at truth, not truth itself, for "Man finds the law and the prophets in his own soul."

In these lectures Follen gave such a liberal and reasonable interpretation of the Bible and Christianity, and was so fair in his treatment of the skeptics, that many of them were made to see that they had been at variance not with religion, but with Calvinistic theology, and were thus converted to the cause of

¹ Ibid., I, 448.

² Ibid., I, 449.

liberal Christianity. The general effect of these lectures was so far-reaching that a movement was soon set on foot to establish a great free church in New York with Follen as its pastor.¹ It was one of Follen's fondest hopes to found a church upon what he considered the true Christian principle: that of universal brotherhood; a church whose doors should be open alike to Jew and Gentile, to believers and unbelievers, —to all whose creed was toleration and universal love, to all who were in search of truth. His object was to introduce a more truly social worship and to have the whole congregation enter into all devotional exercises. He wished also to place women on an equality with men, and to encourage everyone to speak from the pulpit according to his or her gifts. For a time it seemed probable that the project would be carried out, but for want of sufficient encouragement it finally came to naught.

The last two years of Follen's ministry were spent in and near Boston. Here he repeated his lectures on Infidelity, and on two different occasions delivered a series of lectures on the history of Pantheism. The question of the relation between God and the world,—whether there is a God of nature or whether nature is God, was a subject to which he had devoted years of faithful study. Although he was hardly in sympathy with the pantheistic tendency of the new school of theology, with which he fully identified himself, he believed that a fair discussion of the subject would be a real aid to the cause of true religion. During these two years he took part also in the meetings of the Transcendental Club as indicated by the following extract from a letter ² to Miss Martineau in December, 1838: "I have lately attended a meeting of some of the leaders of the new school of Unitarians. A clear determination to break loose from the Unitarian orthodoxy, and a vague conception of something greater and better with marked individuality of opinion and mutual respect, characterized the discussion." He made another effort also to carry out his plan

¹ Cf. *Works*, I, 496.

² *Ibid.*, I, 506.

for a free church on broad, unsectarian principles, but the time was not yet ripe for the full realization of the projected religious reform which hovered before his eyes.

At the beginning of his ministry Follen carefully wrote out his sermons, but gradually discarded this practice, sometimes writing them out in part, again writing only an outline, and often preaching entirely extempore. He did not move his audience by a passionate appeal, but held their attention by his earnestness, logic, and wealth of profound thoughts.¹ By many he was considered metaphysical and abstract, and those who did not attempt to follow his train of reasoning called his sermons uninteresting. A perusal of his printed sermons bears out the statement of his biographer that the thought which he put into one discourse was sufficient to furnish the ordinary preacher with material for a dozen sermons. The clearness with which he sought to unfold his subject sometimes made the statement of his thoughts dry, but his manner was always eloquent. Dr. Peabody,² who often heard him preach, characterizes his sermons as "instructive and impressive, weighty in thought, full fraught with devotional feeling, written in a style both full and simple, and delivered with solemnity and earnestness though without oratorical adornment." W. H. Channing³ considered him most successful in his extempore addresses, characterizing him in the following words: "The thought seemed to pour from deep inward stores in language made fluent by his fervor; accordingly great beauty of fancy played over the surface of his arguments." As he gained in experience he became less abstruse, holding the interest of his hearer by his direct personal appeal. He never dogmatized, but made the reason and conscience of the individual stand at

¹ Cf. Letter of Rev. George F. Simmons in *Sprague's Annals*, VIII, 544.

² *Harvard Reminiscences*, 121; Peabody remarks also that Follen's failure to pronounce the th-sound was the only peculiarity of utterance that would have betrayed him as a foreigner; that his use of English was as free from solecisms and inaccuracies as if it had been his vernacular.

³ *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII, 53f.

the bar in witness of the truths he proclaimed. He aroused men to do themselves justice and to learn the wealth of their own experience. "No one can have listened to his preaching," says James Freeman Clarke,¹ "without honoring the man and feeling the power of the truth, which he dispensed so much according to the spirit." The clear, chaste style, the interesting subject matter, and the deep moral earnestness of his discourses caused Judge Cranch of Washington to speak of him as a perfect model of pulpit eloquence.² The few sermons which he committed to writing form one volume of his published works. These show a wide range of subjects with abundant illustrations drawn from common life, and are written in a style of pungent directness and unaffected pathos. The one golden note which rings throughout every discourse, the one theme on which Follen loves to dwell, is that of Freedom and Immortality,—the tendency of the human mind to infinite progress and its capability of approaching continuously, through moral action and religious feeling, to divine perfection.

* * * * *

Although Riley seems inclined to believe that the views of Emerson, the chief representative of Transcendental thought in America, were for the most part original, he speaks nevertheless about the transcendental movement as a whole as follows:³ "It may safely be said that the German influence on American thought has been the most significant and the most weighty of all foreign forces. This is due in large measure to the after effect of that great epoch of German humanism systematized by the names of Goethe and Kant, Schiller and Fichte. The very substance of the life-work of these men and their company consisted in this, that they replaced the ecclesiastical doctrine of atonement by the belief in the saving quality of restless striving. * * * They trusted in the essential goodness of all life; they conceived of the uni-

¹ *Western Messenger*, October, 1836.

² *Works*, I, 444.

³ *American Thought*, 229ff.

verse as a spiritual being, engaged in constant self-revelation and in a constant struggle toward higher forms of existence." The discussion in the foregoing pages is an attempt to show in some measure that this was the very doctrine that Follen brought with him from Germany in 1824, and which he proclaimed on every occasion, both in his teaching and preaching, in public and in private, in his intercourse with the learned men of Boston and with the Harvard students who were later to become the leaders of the new movement.

Upon its introduction into New England, as Frothingham testifies, the transcendental philosophy took root and blossomed out in every form of social life, becoming thus a highly important factor in shaping our national life. To use his exact words:¹ "It affected thinkers, swayed politicians, guided moralists, inspired philanthropists, created reformers. The moral enthusiasm which broke out with such prodigious power in the holy war against slavery; which uttered such earnest protests against capital punishment, and the wrongs inflicted on women; which made such passionate pleading in behalf of the weak, the injured, the disfranchised of every race and condition; which exalted humanity above institutions, and proclaimed the inherent worth of men,—owed, in larger measure than is suspected, its glow and force to the Transcendentalists."

If the views of such writers as Frothingham and Riley are correct; if New England Transcendentalism was a new way of looking at the world and the facts of human existence; if it was a call for immediate application of ideas to life; and especially if it owed its origin, in some measure, to German thought; then as one of the earliest interpreters of German romantic literature and the German systems of philosophy in this country, and as an active leader in the important reform movements of the time Follen was not only from the metaphysical but also from the practical standpoint at least a har-binger if not one of the earliest pioneers of the movement.

¹ *Transcendentalism in New England*, Preface Vñ.

CHAPTER III.

HIS ANTISLAVERY ACTIVITY.

It is one of the characteristics of the philosophy, of which Follen as the representative of German literature became the interpreter, that it did not resign itself to the mere establishment of abstract systems, but that it strove to carry its message into actual life. This is true especially of the philosophy of Fichte, which placed the greatest emphasis upon the will and the deed. "Alles Höhere," says Fichte,¹ "muss eingreifen wollen auf seine Weise in die unmittelbare Gegenwart und wer wahrhaftig in jenem (Höheren) lebt, lebt zugleich auch in der letzteren." Like Fichte, his teacher and model, Follen believed that the knowledge of the true scholar consists in visions of a spiritual world that does not yet exist, in pictures of a world that is to be realized by man's actions. It is from this point of view that we can understand his active interest in the political affairs of this country, and the motives which impelled him to enter into the antislavery movement.

After landing in this country Follen became at once a keen observer of our national life. Although he was pleased with the general atmosphere of democracy, he gradually became impressed more and more with what he considered a striking contrast between our republican institutions and our habits of thought.² On the one hand the American people professed to believe in freedom and independence in spiritual matters, yet the partisan spirit in religion and politics often made public opinion extremely tyrannical; on the other hand, in liberty and equality, yet they held millions of human beings in physical bondage. Like the forty-eighters a quarter of a century later Follen felt that this republic fell short of the political Utopia he had imagined it. With prophetic vision he saw that if America was to realize the high ideals of the

¹ Cf. 12th Address to the German Nation, *Sämliche Werke*, VII, 447.

² Address on the Cause of Freedom in our Country, *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, October, 1836; also *Works*, I, 478; cf. also his letter to Dr. Bowring, *Works*, I, 335ff.

founders of the republic, if it was to become the hope of the world, liberty and equality, both spiritual and physical, would have to become a fact as well as a theory. Despite these inconsistencies, however, he did not lose faith in democratic principles, but dedicated himself anew to the cause of freedom and stood ready to struggle and suffer if necessary in opposing the same principles that had driven him from his native land. The part which he took in the intellectual regeneration of this country has been recounted. The rôle which he played in the movement for the abolition of chattel slavery will be the theme of the following pages.

THE ANTISLAVERY PROPAGANDA PRIOR TO 1830.

It is a well-known historical fact that there was a strong current of opposition to the institution of slavery during the colonial period of our history, especially by the Quakers of Pennsylvania;¹ and the Declaration of Independence embodying the political philosophy of the 18th century concerning the natural rights of man gave a still greater impulse to the anti-slavery sentiment.² Impressed by the inconsistency of waging a heroic war for emancipation from despotic foreign rule while holding in bondage a half million slaves, the Revolutionary fathers sought to check the encroachment of a system which made merchandise out of human beings. For a quarter of a century thereafter philanthropic men in the South as well as in the North carried on an antislavery propaganda, organizing societies for improving the condition of the slaves as well as for bringing about their freedom; and during the same period several New England states abolished slavery by constitutional provisions while some of the middle states enacted measures for gradual emancipation.³

As early as 1776 it was discovered at the drafting of the Declaration of Independence that the North and South were

¹ Goodell, *Slavery and Antislavery*, 35ff.

² *Ibid.*, 69ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 99ff.

already at odds over slavery,¹ and this disagreement became still more evident in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 as shown by a compromise concerning the representation of the slaves on a two-thirds ratio in the House of Representatives.² Not only did the people assume, perhaps correctly, that the Constitution tacitly recognized slavery as a legal institution, but the products of slave labor were beginning to pour such a stream of gold into the coffers of the northern merchants and manufacturers that the question of abolition gradually came to be regarded as a subject too dangerous to be discussed. Owing to the belief also that slavery would gradually be subverted after the prohibition of the foreign slave-trade, the early abolition propaganda subsided to a great extent.³ For a short time the Missouri controversy of 1820 again aroused serious thought on the subject, but Clay's compromise lulled the people into such a state of acquiescence, and the Colonization project drew their attention from the main issue to such an extent that by the close of another decade neither the pulpit nor the press made more than an occasional allusion to the subject.⁴

In spite of this lethargy of public opinion, however, the antislavery sentiment was kept alive by a number of earnest men both in the free and in the slave states. Among these is to be mentioned especially the New Jersey Quaker, Benjamin Lundy, who as early as 1815 was traveling up and down the country from one state to another speaking against slavery and organizing antislavery societies.⁵ Lundy founded also an antislavery paper, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," which he published successively in several different cities, and finally in Baltimore. In 1828 he was attracted by the antislavery writings of William Lloyd Garrison, then a young man 23 years of age, who was publishing a newspaper in Benning-

¹ von Holst, *Constitutional History of the U. S.*, I, 282.

² Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, 155.

³ May, *Recollections of the Antislavery Conflict*, 6.

⁴ Hart, 165f.

⁵ May, 11ff.

ton, Vermont, and in the following year persuaded him to come to Baltimore to assist him in editing the "Genius", "thus putting the burning torch into the hands of the man raised up by Providence to lead the new crusade against the slave power."¹ The first hand knowledge of slavery which Garrison gained in the slave market of Baltimore convinced him that it should be abolished immediately and unconditionally. With this program in view he returned to Boston and on New Years day, 1831, issued the first number of the *Liberator*,—an event which is usually regarded as the beginning of the so-called Garrisonian Abolition propaganda.

Although slavery no longer existed in New England the slave power had thoroughly entrenched itself in commercial affairs, and the proslavery sentiment had become almost universal in political, ecclesiastical, academic, and social circles. Consequently when the *Liberator* appeared with its radical doctrine of immediate abolition an angry protest went up from the South, and the northern business men, yielding to these appeals, decried the antislavery commotion as a dangerous conspiracy. The pulpit and the press also denounced it as unconstitutional and revolutionary, branding Garrison as a fanatic and heaping the grossest insults upon him. Encouraged by its northern sympathizers the South demanded that the *Liberator* should be suppressed by law, and one state went so far as to offer a large reward to any one who would abduct its editor and bring him to trial under the laws of that state.² But, to use the words of Follen,³ "it was then that the voice of one crying in the wilderness, waxing louder and louder in the general indifference, found a response in a few hearts. A small number of men, citizens of Boston, determined to join in the devoted labors and to share the contumely and detestation that fastened upon the disinterested and uncompromising efforts of the obscure printer, who had dared to take upon himself openly the office of a servant of servants."

¹ Johnson, *William Lloyd Garrison and His Times*, 22.

² May, 33.

³ *Christian Examiner*, XXIII, 232.

In January, 1832, this small group of men formed in Boston the first Antislavery Society in New England. From this association the movement spread so rapidly that in response to a demand for a national organization delegates from ten different states founded at Philadelphia in December, 1833, the American Antislavery Society, which maintained in its declaration of principles that all men are created equal; that slavery is a crime against human nature; and that it should be immediately and unconditionally abolished without compensation to the slaveholders.¹

HIS ESPOUSAL OF THE CAUSE.

In the great slavery conflict various arguments were advanced for and against slavery,—moral, religious, economical, and political, but Follen based his arguments upon strictly philosophical principles, upon Kant's and Fichte's doctrine of man's right to self-determination. He began his antislavery propaganda in this country in his popular lectures on moral philosophy, which he delivered at Boston in 1830. The course of reasoning which he pursued may be briefly stated as follows:² Man is a free moral agent created to develop toward infinite perfection. He is entitled by nature to such a mode of existence and action as is conducive to his happiness, to a sphere of freedom in which he can unfold and exercise all his faculties. He has, therefore, the inherent right to property and to freedom from any kind of interference with his will as long as his conduct does not infringe upon the natural rights of others. Follen spoke in no uncertain terms to his Boston audience when he declared that every one who seeks in any way to deprive any individual of his natural rights "is an enemy to society, who should be resisted and if necessary destroyed by the united power of the people." He branded slavery as a huge social conspiracy in which society was using the civil power, designed to be the right hand of justice, "to oppress human beings simply because mother nature had ar-

¹ Goodell, 398.

² Expounded especially in his 13th lecture, *Works*, III, 252-270.

rayed them in black and red." In these words he protested against the unjust treatment accorded to the American Indians as well as to the negroes. But why was such injustice tolerated? "Because the slave-holders are in the majority," was his reply; "because some cents less on every pound of cotton will satisfy the sensible and practical people all over the world that slave labor is useful and slavery is right." In these lectures Follen did not enter into the reasons for or against the pretended rights of slavery on the grounds of color, birth, or capture, because he believed there was no room for argument on the subject from the standpoint of moral philosophy. He maintained that long-settled usage may alter the boundaries of property, but that it cannot abolish the difference between man and beast; that it cannot prevail against the rights of human nature. "I allow," he says,¹ "that slave-holders among themselves may settle with the strictest justice the rights of every freeman; but I confess that when I hear the great principles of liberty and equality proclaimed by slave-holders and advocates of slavery I know not whether to rejoice at this meritorious inconsistency, or to mourn to see liberty thus wounded in the house of her friends." So radical a doctrine had seldom been heard in Boston prior to 1830.

Follen's connection with the abolition movement dates from 1831. His widow relates² the following incident concerning his first visit to Garrison: One Sunday morning when he was returning from preaching in a neighboring town he overtook a negro on the road, whom he found a very interesting companion. Since it was raining and the man looked rather infirm he invited him to take a seat in the carriage. The man soon began to talk about slavery and told him of Mr. Walker, the author of the incendiary pamphlet, "Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World." He said that Mr. Walker had died suddenly and the colored people thought from appearances that he had been poisoned. This accidental conversation with the poor negro excited Follen's mind so powerfully that

¹ *Works*, III, 265.

² *Ibid.*, I, 304.

he soon visited Mr. Garrison, of whose efforts for the slaves he had already heard. According to Mr. May,¹ it was the bugle-blast of the *Liberator* that summoned him to the conflict. Whatever affected the welfare of mankind was a matter of deep concern to him; therefore he could not be indifferent to a movement which had for its sole object the promotion of human freedom. While most of the clergymen and philanthropists of Boston held themselves aloof from Garrison, Follen often went to the *Liberator* office, says May, to converse with and encourage the young man who had dared to face the insults and opposition of his fellow citizens in preaching the immediate and unconditional abolition of negro slavery.

Follen did not join the Antislavery Society in the first year of its existence, but he was fully in sympathy with its principles and followed the progress of its propaganda with the liveliest interest. He had already sacrificed country, home, and all that he held dear for the sake of freedom, and it could not be wondered at if even a man of his heroic stamp should have hesitated to take a step which he believed would endanger his worldly interests if not involve him and his family in poverty. He had received repeated warnings² that his prospects for advancement would be materially injured unless he adhered strictly to the policy of the College, and had been reminded, too, that as a foreigner it was highly improper for him to meddle with a question whose aim was the subversion of an established American institution. Fearing the loss of southern trade, and honestly believing also that the radical doctrine and severe language of the antislavery agitators would endanger the peace of the country as well as postpone gradual emancipation, the citizens of Boston became embittered against Garrison and his followers; consequently those who identified themselves with the abolition movement did so at the risk of injuring their business interests, of alienating their friends, and of arousing the ill-will of the whole community. Follen however was a man who would not desert the cause of human-

¹ *Antislavery Conflict*, 252.

² *Works*, I, 343.

ity for these or any other considerations. He did not hesitate long. In the summer of 1833 appeared Mrs. Child's "Appeal in Favor of that Class of Americans called Africans." This appeal made so deep an impression upon his mind that after solemn consideration of every objection his devout sense of duty would not permit him any longer to stand aloof from a society whose aim was the immediate and unconditional emancipation of over two millions of slaves.

Follen's active participation in the doings of the Anti-slavery Society began in January, 1834.¹ Upon invitation by the secretary to deliver the main address at the second anniversary of the association he replied as follows:² "Your letter is an additional inducement to me to attend the coming anniversary of the New England Antislavery Society. The deep interest I feel in the abolition of slavery throughout the world has made me desirous of becoming more thoroughly acquainted with the plans and the proceedings of your Society, and for this reason I had determined before I received your letter to attend its next general meeting. I feel truly grateful to you and the other gentlemen of the committee for the confidence you have expressed in my sentiments, and for the honor you have conferred upon me by desiring my services on that interesting occasion. But, with the most sincere desire to cooperate with you in this great and holy undertaking, my information on the subject, particularly with regard to the peculiar relations of this country, is still so imperfect, that I do not feel authorized to promise beforehand to make a public

¹ May, 254: "Soon after the New England Antislavery Society was instituted Follen made known his intention to join it. Some friends remonstrated. They admonished him that so doing would be very detrimental to his professional success. He joined the society, became one of its vice-presidents, was an efficient officer and rendered us invaluable service. The apprehensions of his friends proved to be too well founded. The funds for the support of his professorship at Cambridge were withheld, and he was obliged to retire from a position in which he had been exceedingly useful."

In her *Reminiscences of Channing*, 359, Miss Peabody states that although the latter did not feel able to take an active part in the Anti-slavery Society he was glad to see Follen join it and expressed to him the wish that he would use his influence in its counsels to convince the North of its duty to compensate the slaveholders.

² *Works*, I, 341.

address at the first meeting of the Society which I shall attend. I shall take great pleasure in being present as a listener, and a learner, and a warmly sympathizing friend."

The following account of Follen's actual participation in this meeting will show still more conclusively with what peril to himself he joined the Society, and will indicate also in what esteem he was held by such an abolition leader as Whittier. "At the time of the formation of the American Antislavery Society," Whittier writes,¹ "Follen was Professor in Harvard University, honored for his genius, learning, and estimable character. His love of liberty and hatred of oppression led him to seek an interview with Garrison and express his sympathy with him. Soon after, he attended a meeting of the New England Antislavery Society. An able speech was made by Rev. A. A. Phelps, and a letter of mine was read. Whereupon he rose and stated that his views were in unison with those of the society, and that after hearing the speech and the letter he was ready to join it, and abide the probable consequences of such an unpopular act. He lost by so doing his professorship. He was an able member of the Executive Committee of the American Antislavery Society. The few writings left behind him show him to have been a profound thinker of rare spiritual insight."

ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

In May, 1834, the first convention of the New England Antislavery Society was held in Boston. It was a large gathering, and as a member of the committee on arrangements Follen took great interest in making the meeting a success. His activity in the antislavery propaganda had already brought him recognition as one of the leading champions of abolition, and for this reason he was chosen by the convention as chairman of a committee to draft an address to the people of the United States on the subject of slavery.² The address³ which he

¹ *Poetical Works* (Riverside Ed.), IV, 30.

² May, 255.

³ Given in *Works*, V, 189-227.

wrote on this occasion is a lucid exposition of the principles of abolition showing, too, how thoroughly he had studied the slavery question and how deeply concerned he was over the gravity of the whole situation. The general spirit of this appeal to the nation is not unlike that of Fichte's addresses to the German Nation; the same moral fervor, the same deep earnestness, the same breadth of view, and the same prophetic vision. In both cases the situation confronting the nation was somewhat the same. Deeply conscious of the moral decline of his time, the root of which he found in the prevailing egotism, Fichte recognized that an entirely new public spirit had to be created if Germany was to become a strong united nation and fulfill the destiny of the Teutonic race, for the spiritual freedom which it had given to the world could not long exist if the nation itself should succumb to foreign oppression.¹ Follen, too, foresaw the impending crisis which threatened the American nation. To him it was evident ² that national solidarity was endangered by an immoral and corrupt system that would sooner or later bring the interests of two great sections of the country into direct conflict. He felt also that our republican government could not endure without strict adherence to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and that the American ideal of human freedom could not be attained without the creation of a new national spirit.

To the Abolitionists the slavery system seemed so contrary to every principle of justice and humanity that they believed the success of their propaganda would be assured if the matter were given an intelligent, impartial hearing by the American public. Despite the degenerating effects of slavery the Abolitionists believed, as Follen pointed out, that the spark of divinity in the slave and the feelings of humanity in the master were not yet extinct, and upon this belief they based their justification of abolition and their hope of its accomplishment. The object of this address was, therefore, to place clearly before the people the evils of slavery as well as to refute some

¹ Cf. Fichte's 1st Address, *Werke*, VII, 264ff.

² *Works*, V, 213.

of the more important proslavery arguments; not to convince them of its evils, for that would be as unnecessary, the writer says, as an attempt to prove that liberty is an inestimable good; but to impress upon them the inconsistency and danger of advocating the principles of freedom and equality without at the same time yielding obedience to the universal law of liberty. The address opens with a general exposition of the injustice of slavery from the standpoint of the Declaration of Independence which Follen considered the fundamental law of the land. According to this document which was read with pride throughout the country on every Fourth of July, all government among men derives its just power from the consent of the governed, and is instituted to secure the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, with which all men are endowed equally by their creator. In Follen's opinion these self-evident truths proved the unlawfulness of the government established over the slaves in the same terms in which it justified the self-government of the free.

After this introduction Follen proceeds to portray in clear and convincing arguments the debasing effects of slavery both upon the slaves and upon the slave-holders. In regard to its evil effects upon the nation as a whole he asserted that the system was the cause of all our political dissensions; that it tended to unsettle the groundwork of the government so that every institution founded on the common ground of the Union was like an edifice on volcanic soil, ever liable to have its foundation shaken and the whole structure consumed by subterranean fire.

Among the many proslavery arguments was the contention that immediate emancipation would entail great property loss; that the great majority of slaves were well treated, content, and happy; that they were not prepared for liberty and if suddenly freed would take vengeance upon their masters for their past sufferings. To all these objections to abolition Follen advanced the strongest arguments to show that universal and immediate emancipation would in general prove highly beneficial both to the slave-holders and to the slaves. Granting that the slaves were content with their lot, would this have been a

good reason for continuing the system? Quite the contrary Follen replied, for he believed that if the slave had fallen so low as to rest satisfied with his own degradation and forget that he was a man, then slavery had done its worst and free-men were in duty bound to abolish it.

One of the strongest arguments against the promotion of the abolition propaganda was based upon constitutional grounds. Although the Constitution nowhere speaks of slavery, it was generally interpreted as recognizing the legality of that institution in those states in which it had not been prohibited by the state itself. Everything indicated that slavery was supported by the federal laws, hence the proslavery party maintained that it was improper and dangerous to agitate the question at all. Follen admitted that these objections to the antislavery movement were well grounded, but maintained also that the usual interpretation of Art. IV, Sec. III, 3, of the Constitution was inconsistent with correct principles of legal interpretation. This clause which was supposed to authorize slavery reads as follows: "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping to another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." Follen explains¹ that this clause is not inconsistent with the Declaration of Independence if interpreted as referring to such service as may be due from one person to another on any legal grounds except slavery, but that it is inconsistent with the Declaration if interpreted as referring to slave labor and involuntary servitude as well as to free labor and hired service. Admitting for the sake of argument, Follen continues, that the Declaration be acknowledged no longer as valid, and considering the Constitution in the light of a more recent law, which on that account ought to take precedence over the Declaration concerning any point on which these two documents disagree, still it is an established principle of legal interpretation, he explains, that in case of an apparent conflict between two laws the latter should be interpreted strictly; that is, if the words admit

¹ *Works*, V, 208f.

of a wider and narrower interpretation they should be accepted in that sense in which they are least inconsistent with the spirit of the former law. Interpreted in its broader sense the clause in question would recognize slavery as legal; in its narrower sense it would secure the rights of the master to the service of laborers and apprentices only. Since Follen considered it a self-evident truth that service or labor is due only to him who pays for it he maintained that the words "to whom service is due" could not be applicable in the case of slave-labor; therefore he saw no other alternative than either to adopt the stricter interpretation of this clause, or to admit that the fundamental principles of the Declaration, which acknowledges the inalienable rights of man as the only just foundation of government, had been repealed by the Constitution.

Even if the proslavery party admitted the soundness of this interpretation of the Constitution they could still object to its practical application on the grounds that the Constitutional Convention meant to legalize slavery under the broader import of the clause in question. Follen was willing to assume that the framers of the Constitution actually intended to do this very thing, but he believed that they had done it reluctantly. The very fact that they had worded this clause in such a way that it would still be applicable to the service of laborers and apprentices, even if slavery were abolished, made it seem evident to him that they were looking forward to a time when the principles of the Declaration should have removed every sort of government that had not been derived from the consent of the governed. To substantiate this view Follen called attention to the fact that many of the men who framed the Constitution also took part in the early congressional legislation which prohibited slavery and involuntary servitude from the Northwest Territory.¹

According to Follen's view the Abolitionists did not rest their cause upon the intentions of the Constitutional Conven-

¹ This measure originated with Jefferson, was passed by the Old Congress in 1787, and was ratified by the first Congress under the new Constitution, the entire southern delegation voting for its adoption; cf. Goodell, 83.

tion or upon the interpretation of the Constitution itself, but grounded their hopes of success upon the principle laid down in Washington's farewell address, that the basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutional government. Personally, Follen relied¹ upon the freedom guaranteed by the Constitution to assemble and consult, to speak and to print, and after arousing public sentiment thereby to petition the federal government as well as the state legislatures to abolish slavery by legislative enactments, in other words, by constitution amendments. Thus he advocated² that the Abolitionists armed with the weapons furnished by the Constitution itself were in duty bound to continue their propaganda until the principle that man could hold property in man would be effaced from the statute books.

Follen closed his address by urging all American patriots to yield to the new spirit of freedom which was manifest in the popular uprisings of European nations against the divine right of kings. He reminded the people that those nations were awaking to the truth that a man is a man whether European prejudice frowned upon him on account of his station or American prejudice because of his color, and that they would not omit to scrutinize critically the title of a state which used its laws to hold in bondage more than one sixth of its population. He appealed to all true Republicans in whose keeping the destiny of the nation had been committed to prove by their stand on the slavery question whether their liberty was the fruit of determined choice or of a fortunate accident. With prophetic vision he expressed his conviction³ that unless the slave system were abolished it would sooner or later prove destructive of the Union; that those who were striving directly or indirectly to secure its existence were nourishing the seeds of civil war, and that their efforts to avert it from themselves would only serve to insure its breaking in upon their descendants with increased violence.

¹ *Works*, V, 212.

² *Ibid.*, V, 213.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 217.

This address was perhaps one of the most philosophical and convincing abolition arguments that had up to that time been presented to the American public. It was printed and sent broadcast over the country, to each member of Congress and to some of the most distinguished men of the South. Mrs. Follen states ¹ that from the large number of copies sent out only one was returned, with some insulting expressions about foreigners throwing firebrands written in the margins; that although some of the proslavery papers of Boston made insulting remarks about the author, the argument and general spirit of the address were of such a high order that it elicited much praise even from some of the most bitter enemies of the abolition movement. According to Mr. May ² the people of New England in general knew very little about the Constitution; some of the most intelligent citizens supposed that it expressly guaranteed slavery while many had never read it at all. Shortly after the address was written the Antislavery Society printed a large edition of the Constitution for distribution with Follen's address and other antislavery tracts.³ It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that Follen's discussion of the constitutional question of slavery along with a copy of the Constitution itself must have been instrumental in arousing the interest of many people in the abolition movement.

THE MOB YEAR.

The year between the spring of 1835 and that of 1836 was one of the stormiest periods of the early abolition movement, a time that tried the souls of men, and it is often spoken of as the "mob year," the "reign of terror." Although the antislavery cause was growing rapidly it experienced at this time some of its greatest trials and its most bitter proslavery opposition. For a time antislavery meetings were frequently disturbed by mobs, which were sanctioned and even encouraged

¹ Ibid., I, 343.

² *Antislavery Conflict*, 141f.

³ Ibid., 142.

by the pulpit and the press.¹ The notorious outrage of the Boston mob against the Ladies' Antislavery Society, and the dragging of Garrison through the streets with a rope around his body deeply moved the soul of Follen, as his wife writes,² winning his heart anew to the persecuted cause. At this time he was a member of the board of managers of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society, attending all its regular business meetings and engaged in organizing auxiliary branches. Samuel May, who as general agent of the Society came into close touch with him during this period, speaks³ as follows about his fidelity and fearlessness: "He never quailed. His countenance always wore its accustomed expression of calm determination. He aided us by his counsels, animated us by his resolute spirit, and strengthened us by the heart-refreshing tones of his voice."

About this time Miss Martineau, who was studying social conditions in this country, was visiting New England. Distinguished alike for her philanthropic and literary works she was received everywhere with the greatest respect. During her travels the proslavery party sought naturally to impress her in favor of slavery, and in Boston especially she heard many aspersions cast upon the Abolitionists. It chanced during her visit in this city that she met the Follens, and this resulted at once in a mutual admiration and an intimate friendship between them. It seems from Miss Martineau's account⁴ that it was Follen who was instrumental in having her visit a meeting of the Ladies' Antislavery Society. She accepted the invitation somewhat reluctantly, as she intimates, in order to learn more about the aims and methods of the Abolitionists, concerning which she as yet knew very little. Although she was antislavery in sentiment her visit to this meeting caused her to identify herself openly with Abolitionists, as is well

¹ Goodell, 404ff.

² *Works*, I, 379.

³ *Antislavery Conflict*, 255.

⁴ *Autobiography*, I, 347.

known,¹ and from this time on she wielded her powerful pen in defense of the abolition cause.

In a preceding chapter allusion has been made to Miss Martineau's tour of the west in company with the Follens and several other friends in the spring of 1836. Although they made this journey primarily as a pleasure trip it became a veritable antislavery tour. Everywhere they made abolition propaganda as indicated by Miss Martineau's account² as follows: "Wherever we went it was necessary to make up our minds distinctly, and with the full knowledge of each other, what we should say and do in regard to the subject which was filling all men's minds. We resolved, of course, to stand by our antislavery principles, and advocate them wherever fair occasion offered; and we never did omit an opportunity of saying what we knew and thought. On every steamboat and in every stage (when we entered public conveyances) the subject arose naturally; for no subject was so universally discussed throughout the country, though it was interdicted within the walls of the Capitol at Washington. Mr. Loring joined in the conversation when the legal aspects of the matter were discussed; and Dr. Follen when the religious and moral and political bearings of slavery were the subject. Mrs. Follen and Mrs. Loring were full of facts and reasons about the workings of Abolitionism in its headquarters. As for me my topic was Texas. * * * The further we went the more we heard of lynchings which had lately taken place, or were designed for the next Abolitionists who should come that way. In Detroit we heard that our party of Abolitionists were expected, and that everything was in readiness to give us a similar reception. Our Abolitionism could be no secret, ready as we always were to say what we knew and thought."

ADDRESS ON THE RIGHTS OF FOREIGNERS AND WOMEN IN
THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT.

The proslavery press was especially bitter in its denunciation of foreigners who "dared to meddle" in the question of

¹ Ibid., I, 351.

² Ibid., I, 366.

American slavery, notably in the case of the distinguished English Abolitionist, George Thompson, who was making a lecture tour in this country at this time in the interest of the anti-slavery movement.¹ Although Follen had lived in this country eleven years and had possessed all the rights of an American citizen for five years he, too, was condemned for his abolition activity both in public and in private as a foreign meddler.² Through his address to the American People his active interest in the propaganda made him so well known as an Abolitionist that he was occasionally reminded by the newspapers that a foreigner should remember the protection afforded him by the institutions of this country instead of casting firebrands among the people. To these criticisms Garrison³ replied in the *Liberator*: "We wish we had more such foreigners among us." It was this hostile attitude against antislavery agitators of foreign birth, especially the unkind criticism⁴ of Miss Martineau after her public avowal of abolition principles that inspired one⁵ of Follen's most powerful antislavery addresses. To quote the words of May:⁶ "This was his bravest speech. There was not a word, nor a tone, nor a look of compromise in it. He met our opponents at the very points where some of our friends thought us deserving of blame, and he manfully maintained every inch of his ground. It is not easy even for us to recall, and it is impossible to give to those who were not Abolitionists then, a clear idea of the state of the community at the time that speech was made."

This address is couched in the form of a resolution and opens thus: "Resolved that we consider the Antislavery Cause as the cause of philanthropy, with regard to which all human

¹ May, 125.

² *Works*, I, 342.

³ Cf. *Story of his Life by his Children*, I, 441f.

⁴ Cf. *Autobiography*, I, 352; *Works*, I, 380f.

⁵ Made in the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Antislavery Society at Boston, January, 1836. Extant only in part, *Works*, I, 637f.

⁶ *Antislavery Conflict*, 255.

beings,—white men and colored men, citizens and foreigners, men and women, have the same duties and the same rights."

Follen began with the statement that the whole abolition creed could be summed up in the single proposition that the slave is a man created in the image of God and is therefore a freeman by divine right. The very fact that the slave is a human being, is Follen's argument, makes it incumbent upon everyone of whatever color, nationality, or sex, by virtue of a common nature, to become his rightful and responsible defender. Follen admitted that in personal and domestic relation each individual may choose his company according to his likes or dislikes. He insisted, however, that the colored people should be admitted into all public meetings and societies designed for the establishment of human rights, for he was consistent enough not to demand that the white slaveholder of the South live on terms of civil equality with colored slaves unless the white Abolitionists of the North would do the same.

In the second part of his address Follen speaks in defense of the foreign-born agitators. Since the antislavery movement was not a national but a philanthropic cause he contended that no distinction should be made between foreigners and natives. If millions of human beings were driven out daily to hard toil and degraded without redress, and millions of free citizens neglected in their prosperity to aid their unfortunate fellow-men, suppose some foreigner chanced to come along and sought to heal the wounds of the downtrodden,—who, Follen asked, would be a neighbor to them who were wounded in body and soul? "Shall we," he exclaimed reprovingly, "on beholding such signal kindness, cry out with the Jews of old,—He is a Samaritan and has a devil!—or with our modern national bigots,—He is a foreigner, an English emissary, mob him, tar and feather him!" Follen felt that those foreigners who supported the abolition cause were America's best friends and that their very participation in it was the surest pledge of their confidence in American love of truth and sense of justice. He was firmly convinced also that any attempt to prevent either citizens or foreigners from expressing fully their opinion on such a great moral question was far worse in this country than

in any other, simply because we had pledged our lives and fortunes and sacred honor to uphold the equal rights of all.

The last topic of the address is a defense of the rights of women. It has already been pointed out in the preceeding chapter how Follen took the advance ground on this question, —how in his plan of religious reform he desired to place women upon an equality with men and to give them equal opportunity to speak in public services. According to the custom of those times few women except among the Quakers took part in public meetings, but the abolition movement marked the dawn of a new era in this respect. At the very beginning of the movement several earnest and talented women devoted themselves to the cause, making suggestions, giving advice, employing their pens, and through the encouragement and support of such men as Garrison and Whittier gradually began to take part in public discussions. Follen, too, was an ardent advocate of equal rights, and the argument which he made in this address must have had an inspiring effect upon the women, especially so since it was a rare thing at that time to hear a public defense of their cause in conservative New England. One of the most significant portions of this address runs as follows:

“I maintain that with regard to the antislavery cause men and women have the same duties and rights. The ground I take on this point is very plain. I wish to spare you, I wish to spare myself, the worthless and disgusting task of replying in detail to all the coarse attacks and flattering sophisms by which men have endeavored to entice or to drive women from this and from many other spheres of moral action. ‘Go home and spin!’ is the well-meaning advice of the domestic tyrant of the old school. ‘Conquer by personal charms and fashionable attractions!’ is the brilliant career marked out for her by the idols and the idolators of fashion. ‘Never step out of the bounds of decorum and the customary ways of doing good!’ is the sage advice of maternal caution. ‘Rule by obedience, by submission sway!’ is the golden saying of the moralist poet, sanctioning female servitude, and pointing out a resort and compensation in female cunning. With the fear of insolent

remarks and of being thought unfeminine, it is indeed proof of uncommon moral courage or of an overpowering sense of religious duty and sympathy for the oppressed that a woman is induced to embrace the unpopular, unfashionable, obnoxious principles of the Abolitionists. Popular opinion, the habit of society, are all calculated to lead women to consider the place, the privileges, and the duties which etiquette has assigned to them as their peculiar portion, as more important than those which nature has given to them in common with men. Men have at all times been inclined to allow to women peculiar privileges, while withholding from them essential rights. In the program of civilization and Christianity one right after another has been conceded, one occupation after another has been placed within the reach of women. Still we are far from a practical acknowledgement of the simple truth, that the rational and moral nature of man is the foundation of all rights and duties and that women as well as men are rational and moral beings. Women begin to feel that the place men have marked out for them is but a small part of what society owes to them, and which they themselves owe to society."

To what extent Follen's address was instrumental in stimulating an interest in women's rights cannot of course be determined. At any rate it must have made a deep impression. Mr. May observes¹ that Whittier, who was present, was so deeply affected by its fervor and logic that he composed that very night his famous "Stanzas for the Times,"² one of his best antislavery poems.

DEFENSE OF FREE SPEECH.

The Abolitionists reached the culmination of their trials in the spring of 1836. Not only did the mobs attempt to suppress the antislavery movement, but the proslavery leaders, claiming that all antislavery newspapers were designed to incite the slave to insurrection and murder, sought to gag the press through statutory enactments. As early as 1832 Judge

¹ *Antislavery Conflict*, 265.

² *Poetical Works* (Riverside Ed.), III, 35.

Thatcher¹ of Boston, in a charge to the Grand Jury, pronounced it a misdemeanor indictable at common law to publish in one state with intent to send into another any such publications, and in 1835 the Hon. Wm. Sullivan wrote a pamphlet expressing the same sentiment as follows: "It is to be hoped and expected," he said,² "that Massachusetts will enact laws declaring the printing, publishing, and circulating of papers and pamphlets on slavery, and also the holding of meetings to discuss slavery and abolition, to be public indictable offenses, and provide for the punishment thereof in such manner as will more effectually prevent such offenses." Such sentiment in the North naturally encouraged the South to demand legislation upon the subject. Accordingly the Governor of South Carolina declared in a message³ to the legislature in December 1835 that the corner-stone of the republican edifice rests upon slavery, and demanded that the laws of every community should punish with death without benefit of the clergy all those who interfered with the institution. The legislatures of several southern states passed resolutions⁴ requesting the non-slaveholding states of the union to suppress all abolition societies, and to make it highly penal to print, publish, and distribute newspapers, pamphlets, tracts and pictorial representations calculated or having a tendency to excite the slaves of the southern states to insurrection and revolt.

In consequence of these demands, which were officially communicated to the governors of the non-slaveholding states, Governor Edward Everett in his message to the legislature of Massachusetts in January 1836, alluded particularly to the subject of slavery, admonishing all classes to abstain from discussing the subject, censuring the Abolitionists, and intimating that they were guilty of offenses punishable at common law. This portion⁵ of the message was referred to a joint

¹ Johnson, *Garrison and his Times*, 212f.

² Ibid.; also Goodell, 409.

³ Goodell, 413.

⁴ Original resolutions quoted by Goodell, 413f.; cf. also May, 185ff.

⁵ Quoted by Goodell, 415.

legislative committee of five members for consideration. Believing that any unfavorable action by this commission would jeopardize the abolition cause and endanger also the liberties of the people in general, the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society petitioned the committee to grant them a hearing in order to present reasons why the legislature should not take action condemning the Abolitionists. Upon permission to present their claims the Society sent a delegation to the legislature where, on the 4th of March, it entered into one of the most memorable and heroic struggles in the history of the early abolition movement. Follen was among the nine representatives chosen to avert the danger that seemed impending over the Abolitionists, and in this struggle he distinguished himself as one of the most powerful defenders of the freedom of speech and of the press.

The scene in the legislature just preceding the hearing is described as follows¹ by Miss Martineau, who was present on that occasion: "While the committee were, with ostentatious negligence, keeping the Abolitionists waiting, the Senate Chamber presented an interesting spectacle. The contemptuous committee, dawdling about some immaterial business, were lolling over a table, one twirling a pen, another squirting tobacco juice, and another giggling. The Abolitionists, to whom this business was a prelude to life or death, were earnestly consulting in groups,—at the further end of the chamber Garrison and another; somewhat nearer, Dr. Follen, looking German all over, and a deeper earnestness than usual overspreading his serene and meditative countenance; and in consultation with him Mr. Loring. There was May, and Goodell, and Sewall, and several others, and many an anxious face looking down from the gallery. During the suspense the door opened and Dr. Channing entered—one of the last people who could on that winter afternoon have been expected."

Concerning the proceedings that then took place Garrison²

¹ The Martyr Age of America, *Westminster Review*, December, 1838.

² *Story of his Life by his Children*, II, 95ff.

gives the following account: "Mr. May began the defense and spoke pretty well for nearly an hour, but was frequently interrupted by the members of the committee, who, with one exception, behaved in an insolent and arbitrary manner. Mr. Loring then spoke about fifteen minutes in a very admirable manner. Mr. Goodell then followed at some length, very ably, but was cramped by the committee. I succeeded him pretty warmly, but without interruption. Professor Follen began next with great boldness and eloquence. His share was to show the relation of cause and effect between Faneuil Hall meeting and the mob of October 21 as foreshadowing the result of legislative resolutions censuring the Abolitionists."

Follen began his argument ¹ with a series of philosophical remarks upon the rights of man and upon the spirit and purpose of our republican institutions, maintaining that liberty of speech and of the press was essential to the preservation of the government. He declared boldly at the outset that whatever would not bear to be examined and criticized must be essentially bad and ought not to be perpetuated, and that any attempt to stifle the voice or muzzle the press was a sure indication of an attempt to perpetuate what ought to be abolished. He pointed out that the Abolitionists wished to overthrow slavery only by exercising their constitutional right to speak and print their opinions of it, whereas the proslavery party was bent on preventing this, not by proving that slavery was not an evil, but by denying the right to express any opinion whatsoever about it. After alluding to the attempts to excite odium against the Abolitionists, and to the demands of southern legislatures for the suppression of their doctrines by penal laws, he referred also to the Faneuil Hall meeting ² and its censure of the Abolitionists. Believing that this meeting had instigated the Boston mobs Follen argued that legislative censure of the Abolitionists would have similar consequences. "Would not the mobocrats," he asked, "again undertake to

¹ *Works*, I, 389ff.

² Held by the proslavery party in August, 1835, to oppose the Abolitionists; cf. May, 151.

execute the informal sentence of the general court?" Here-upon the chairman of the committee cried out: "Stop Sir, you may not pursue this course of remark, it is insulting to this committee and to the legislature which they represent."¹ After protesting that he had not even intimated that the committee or the legislature would approve an act of violence, and being refused a second permission to proceed with his defense, Follen took his seat. After a vigorous protest by the members of the delegation he was allowed to take the floor again. With calm dignity he arose a second time and asked to be distinctly informed what he had said that could be construed as disrespectful to the committee, and whether the right to speak was to be recognized only as a special favor. The chairman would make no satisfactory reply to these questions, where-upon Follen again took his seat and the meeting came to an abrupt close.

The Abolitionists sent a remonstrance to the legislature on the following day. This was referred to the same committee, and a second hearing was granted on the 8th. According to Mr. May² it was intended that Follen should address the committee first, beginning just where he had been interrupted by Mr. Lunt, and that he should press home that part of the argument which was deemed so important. When he again confronted the committee he opened with the statement that the only point at issue was the principle of the freedom of speech, maintaining that the Abolitionists were accused of crime not for anything they had done, but for what they had believed and said, and that the governor had endorsed the accusation simply because they had exercised in the cause of humanity a right which was guaranteed by the laws of the state and of the federal government. He called attention to the fact that Jefferson himself had prophesied long before that slavery must come to an end in America, and that the European countries had already begun to free their slaves. Since the spirit of the times demanded emancipation, and since it was only a ques-

¹ May, 194.

² *Antislavery Conflict*, 195.

tion, as he believed, whether it was to come by peaceful discussion or by the arbitrament of war, it was highly important, he maintained, to meet the issue face to face instead of demanding silence on the subject. He admitted that the Abolitionists had in some cases been intemperate in their speech, but asserted that the right of free expression of their opinions could not for that reason be denied. The all-important question was, therefore, not whether the legislature would crush the abolition propaganda, but whether it would suppress free speech forever. Follen expressed his belief that the action of the mobs was due to misrepresentations of the Abolitionists, and that it was honestly intended to preserve the Union, but he contended that penal enactments against the Abolitionists would be less dangerous to them than condemnatory resolutions which would be left to Judge Lynch for enforcement. At this point he was again called to order on the ground of using language disrespectful to the committee. To this he replied that he could not understand how such an allusion could be interpreted as disrespectful to the committee or to the legislature, but the chairman retorted that it was improper and would not be permitted. After a long parley he was permitted to proceed and had the satisfaction of expressing his views without further opposition. He pointed out clearly and forcibly that legislative censure would tend directly and indirectly to excite mobs, explained the dangerous consequences of mob rule to all classes, and insisted that the legislature could not justly censure citizens in the exercise of a legal right.

Inch by inch Follen fought his way, battling for freedom of speech in a free land. In his contention for principle and his resistance of wrong he manifested the same invincible spirit that had animated him in his European struggle for freedom.¹ Concerning his conduct on this occasion Mr. May speaks thus:² "A committee of the Massachusetts legislature might not be so august a presence as the Holy Alliance, but in

¹ By the proslavery press Follen was bitterly assailed for the part he took in this legislative hearing. Cf. *Works*, I, 403.

² Eulogy on Follen before the Antislavery Society of Boston in April, 1840. Quoted in part, *Works*, I, 402.

Follen's regard the occasion that called him to the Hall of Representatives was as much more momentous than the occasion on which he resisted the Allied Sovereigns at Basel as the infringement of the liberties of speech by a democratic government would be more disastrous to the cause of freedom than any encroachment on human rights by absolute monarchs. We were all impressed by his intent look, his earnest, solemn manner. And we can never cease to be grateful to him for his pertinacity in maintaining his own rights against the aggressive overbearance of the chairman of that committee." "I have sometimes thought it was the turning point in the affairs of our old Commonwealth."¹

THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN OUR COUNTRY.

Under the above caption Follen addressed another powerful appeal to the people of the United States. In this discourse² he strikes at the very root of the whole trouble, directing his remarks not so much against the institution of slavery itself, but against what he considered the general spirit³ of intolerance and oppression, which he believed was undermining the very foundations of our national life,—a spirit of which negro slavery was only the grosser manifestation. In spite of delusive appearance, of the deceptive calm on the surface of society, he saw with the eye of a critical observer in all the different phases of American life, in all the fluctuations of public opinion, two antagonistic principles,—liberty and oppression. By liberty he meant, of course, the natural rights to those things which best subserve the progress and happiness of mankind; and by oppression any infringement on those rights, whether imposed upon one or all, by the cunning of a few or by the violence of the many.

He directed public attention especially to what he considered a tendency to oppression not only in the manners and

¹ *Antislavery Conflict*, 256.

² Published in *Quarterly Antislavery Magazine*, October, 1836.

³ In a letter to Follen, May 9, 1837, Channing expresses this same idea; cf. *Channing's Life*, 546.

habits of the people, but also in the state and national laws themselves. Although the Declaration of Independence had recognized the inalienable rights of man as the infallible test of the validity of every law, the accepted interpretation of the Constitution supported, to use his own words, "an aristocracy of absolute monarchs." These illiberal principles and anti-republican tendencies were increasing, as he pointed out, were influencing public opinion, and in some cases beginning to modify American institutions and modes of life. Slavery was not only a local evil in the South, but its moral effect upon the nonslaveholding states caused thousands of colored freemen to be excluded from institutions of learning, from the refining influence of good society, from profitable employment, and even from the exercise of political rights. Not only had these illiberal principles affected the African, but had made the Indian, too, one of the greatest victims of oppression.

Turning from these more prominent defects in our social system in general, Follen next discussed the symptoms of this same spirit of oppression, which he had observed in both our public and private life. He called these symptoms "in part superannuated remnants of European feudal institutions, in part the indication of new-grown propensities to return to the same creations of political idolatry." Among the remains of feudalism which still existed in republican America of the 19th century Follen mentions imprisonment for debt, which was still allowed by the laws of some states; and the binding out of children as apprentices for a much longer and severer servitude, he asserts, than the laws even of monarchical Europe permitted. As to the question of women's rights he speaks again as follows: "Women, although fully possessed of that rational and moral nature which is the foundation of all rights, enjoy amongst us fewer legal rights than under the civil law of continental Europe. Chivalrous courtesy is a poor substitute for rights withheld. The deference so generally paid to women often bears the character of condescending flattery rather than respect grounded on a sincere recognition of equality."

Another weakness of our national life that Follen pointed out was the passion for aristocratic distinction, the great

regard which certain Americans had for foreign titles of nobility, their intemperate craving after office, and their eager pursuit of wealth in order to keep up a certain high style of living and to move in a certain social set. Follen found this same spirit present in religion and politics, dividing society into classes, cliques and clans, and suppressing individual feeling and opinion. In academic life he observed in many cases a certain subserviency to wealth, an artificial system of emulation among students, and arbitrary discipline,—defects which he considered incompatible with the ideals of a republican nation. To him this illiberal tendency seemed to be confined to no particular individuals or classes; the friends of freedom in one sphere often acting the part of oppressors in another. This spirit gave rise especially to industrial tyranny, as Follen observed; in attempts to prevent the association of laboring men for their mutual benefit, in the attempts of these same labor organizations to force individuals to comply with their resolutions, and in the monopolies of privileged corporations. But the worst of all was, as he maintained, the attempt to make property instead of men the basis of political representation, to prevent universal suffrage, and to throw obstacles in the way of universal education.

It was this universal spirit of tyranny which was sapping the life of the nation, that aroused Follen to send forth his warning of danger—a warning which in its pertinency is applicable even at the present time. He believed that safety lay only in strict adherence to the principle “that in a republic as a collective, moral, free agent, all should govern and obey themselves;” that is, in universal suffrage.

USE OF THE PULPIT IN THE MOVEMENT.

Such writers as May, Johnson, and Birney are unanimous in declaring that the churches were the bulwark of slavery and that the clergy was on the whole hostile to abolition. While on the other hand it is conceded ¹ that later Unitarianism was

¹ Cf. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England*, Preface; Merriam, *American Political Theories*, 216ff.; Birney, 281ff.

closely related to the abolition propaganda, it is not known generally that Follen was one of the first Unitarian preachers who used the pulpit as a direct means of proclaiming anti-slavery principles. Soon after entering the ministry he was taken to task by one of his friends in the following words:¹ "Your sermons are very sensible, but you spoil your discourses with your views about freedom. We are all weary of hearing the same thing from you. You always have something about freedom in whatever you have to say to us. I am sick of hearing about freedom; we have too much freedom." His wife states² that he never introduced the subject of immediate abolition directly in the pulpit except once, but that he always preached against slavery. All his sermons were expressions in some form or another of his faith in the divinity of human nature, and on the question of slavery he stated his views simply and fully, actuated only by an unswerving devotion to what he believed was true. It was not merely his pity for the negro slave that made him an antislavery preacher, but rather his great respect for the rights of men as such. He was often sharply rebuked by his parishioners,³ but to all criticisms of his views on slavery he replied with merely a pleasant smile and a kindly word and preached on, discussing the question with full consciousness of the social sacrifice it involved.

When Follen was invited to preach on Unitarianism in Washington, the stronghold of slavery, he was requested not to introduce his slavery views into his discourses. As a guest he had, of course, to accede to the wishes of the people, but his Unitarian sermons were at the same time antislavery sermons without the mention of slavery. Concerning this incident Follen wrote to Channing as follows:⁴ "I am obliged to be silent on Abolition but I preach with all my might on the dignity and rights of human nature, on the great texts, 'Honor all men,' and 'All ye are brethren,' and pray for the oppressed.

¹ *Works*, I, 250.

² *Ibid.*, I, 486.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 463f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 443.

There is now and then, apparently, an expectation of hearing rank abolition doctrine, but I avoid exciting words and let the principles make the desired impression. I have never been so strongly impressed with the intrinsic antislavery tendency of Unitarianism, as taking its stand on the absolute worth and eternal destiny of human nature."

When he became pastor of the First Unitarian Church in New York he was careful at the very outset to acquaint his congregation with his attitude upon the slavery question. In his first sermon to them he spoke of the duties of the clergy to all efforts of philanthropy, mentioning among them the duty of the Christian minister toward the Society for the Abolition of Slavery. In a later sermon¹ he gave direct expression to his views on slavery. He told his congregation plainly that the spirit of civil liberty which had prompted the founders of the republic to throw off the hereditary traditions of the old world and to found a new nation based upon the principles of freedom and equality should induce their descendants to sympathize with the antislavery cause, to employ all lawful and moral means and to make any sacrifice for removing from our soil the curse of slavery. He admonished his hearers to study the subject thoroughly and impartially, to read both sides and then with determined purpose to follow the course which conscience dictated. He maintained that the subject had to be discussed, that free discussion was the only way to settle the question satisfactorily, and that it was the duty of every citizen under all circumstances to uphold the supremacy of the law against the attempts of mobs to suppress the freedom of speech.

Doctrines such as Follen here and in his antislavery speeches promulgated are taken by us today as a matter of course, but to the masses of New York and New England three quarters of a century ago they sounded like the utterances of an anarchist. The effect which the sermon just mentioned made upon the fashionable circles of New York is described by Follen in a letter² to Miss Martineau, as follows:

¹ Ibid., II, Sermon 16.

² Ibid., I, 435.

“The impression made by this small part of my sermon was very strong; and two influential men, one who belongs to my society and another who belongs to Mr. Dewey’s, left the meeting-house in great anger while I was preaching. I have been blamed by many for introducing this subject, though they all agree that what I said was true, and that old custom allowed the preacher on Thanksgiving day to preach on politics. It is somewhat doubtful now whether they will keep me here permanently, though they declare themselves satisfied in other respects. I feel sure that if I had known the consequences I should have changed nothing in manner or matter. A few strongly approved of the part I had taken, but the majority are either angry or afraid or sorry.” The matter turned out as Follen suspected it would. At the close of the period for which he had been engaged on trial so much opposition¹ to his reappointment was manifested that he withdrew his name as a candidate for the permanent pastorate of the church.

Dr. Channing is usually accorded the highest honor among those Unitarian clergymen who took their stand on the slavery question. From his early life he was deeply impressed with the evils of slavery. By preaching eloquently against it and by contributing to antislavery literature he rendered most important service in creating antislavery sentiment, but while recognizing the justice of immediate abolition he never identified himself with the Abolitionists. To Follen he wrote in July 1834 as follows:² “So great a question as slavery cannot be viewed by all from one position, nor with entire agreement as to the modes of treating it; and the cause will be aided by the existence of a body who have much sympathy with people at large as to the difficulties of emancipation, but who uncompromisingly maintain that the abolition of slavery ought immediately to be decided on, and means used for immediately commencing this work. I feel no freedom, as some sects say, to join any of your bodies, but the cause is dear to my heart.” In his letter to Birney in 1836 he criticized the Abolitionists for their intemperate language and radical doctrines. To these

¹ Ibid., I, 478.

² *Channing’s Works*, 530.

criticisms Follen sent him subsequently the following friendly rebuke:¹ "I could wish that your censure of the Abolitionists had been as clearly defined as your generous expression of what you approve in their conduct. More distinct and pointed censure would have benefitted them and have deprived the enemies of their cause of a means of arming themselves with quotations which, taken by themselves, imply a more general condemnation than they actually contain when held together by other parts of the letter."

According to Chadwick² it was through Follen's influence that Channing made his nearest approach to the Abolitionists. On this point Garrison himself speaks thus:³ "I was no favorite of Dr. Channing at any time. He never gave me a word of counsel or encouragement. He never invited me to see him that he might understand from my own lips my real feelings and purposes, and afford me the benefit of his experience and advice. My early faithful and clear-sighted friend, Professor Follen, tried to induce him to make my acquaintance, believing it would be mutually serviceable, but he never manifested any desire to do so."

Although Follen did not agree with Garrison on many questions, the latter counted him as one of his staunchest supporters and held him in such loving esteem that he named his own son, "Charles Follen." "The child had a certain facial resemblance to Dr. Follen," says the biographer of Garrison,⁴ "and in his father's own words when the boy died in 1849, 'gave promise of future usefulness and excellence in some degree commensurate with the worth and fame of the truly great and good man after whom he was named admiringly, gratefully, reverently.'"

¹ *Works*, I, 438.

² *William Ellery Channing*, 382.

³ *Liberator*, 23 (1854); *Story of his Life*, III, 242.

⁴ *Story of his Life*, III, 242.

POLITICAL ATTITUDE ON SLAVERY.

As the abolition movement progressed the radical Garrisonians, it will be remembered,¹ gradually diverged from the main body of the Abolitionists and identified themselves with other social movements, denouncing the Constitution and advocating non-resistance, non-coercion, and the no-government theory in politics. Follen, however, can hardly be classed with this extreme left wing. According to Mrs. Follen's account,² he did not agree with Garrison on some questions apart from the antislavery propaganda, and was often displeased with his intemperate language and bitter attacks upon individuals, but he loved and honored him and aided him in every way possible, believing that his virtues far outweighed his faults and that his harsh utterances were prompted by the same spirit that moved the prophets of old. Follen himself never indulged in personal vituperation on the slavery question; as Rev. Simmons testifies,³ "his zeal in Antislavery never betrayed him into ascerbity and intolerance, for he was not a bigot in any department of thought or action." Like Garrison he was a staunch advocate of abolition, but unlike him he was, according to Miss Peabody's statement,⁴ "an uncompromising compensationist." As to immediate abolition he believed⁵ that the state of ignorance obtaining among the slaves might, indeed, render it inexpedient to give them the immediate and unlimited exercise of every privilege, but maintained it was a duty to give them the immediate enjoyment of all those rights for which they were qualified together with the means to fit themselves as soon as possible for the exercise of every privilege enjoyed by the white freemen.

It was the main function and the chief service of the early Abolitionists, such as Garrison, May, Whittier, and Fol-

¹ Birney, 314ff.; Goodell, 457ff.; Woodburn, 56ff.

² *Works*, I, 379f.

³ Cf. *Sprague's Annals*, VIII, 544.

⁴ *Ibid.*, VIII, 547.

⁵ Cf. Address to the American People, *Works*, V, 198.

len to arouse the national conscience,—to lay the foundation upon which was to rise a political party to oppose the spread of slavery. About 1834 Garrison advocated a "Christian party in politics," with particular reference, it is said,¹ to the slave question, but soon abandoned this for his no-government hobby. Follen, on the other hand, was desirous of carrying the propaganda into the political arena. This is plainly evident from his article on *The Cause of Freedom in our Country*. "When we see the anti-republicans," he says,² "in every walk of life and line of business endeavoring to strengthen their natural connection by active alliance and cooperation, it is high time that the republicans of every description, the friends of universal freedom in speaking, printing, trading, manufacturing, voting, and worshipping, should recognize each other as fellow-laborers and learn consistency from their common enemy."

In the last paragraph of this article he expressly advocates the founding of a new progressive democratic party organized upon the fundamental principles of abolition. He expresses himself on the subject as follows:³ "It becomes those who have not lost all sense of the dignity of human nature to declare that they consider the personal rights of man as the foundation of every other; and that they cannot recognize any property which is inconsistent with that which every human being holds in his own soul and body. If there is ever to be in this country a party that shall take its character and name not from particular liberal measures, or popular men, but from its uncompromising and consistent adherence to Freedom, it must direct its first decided effort against the grossest form, the most complete manifestation of oppression; and having taken antislavery ground, it must carry out the principle of liberty in all its consequences. It must support every measure conducive to the greatest possible individual, social, moral, intellectual, religious, and political freedom,

¹ Goodell, 469; Birney, 289, 309.

² *Quarterly Antislavery Magazine*, October, 1836, p. 65; cf. also Goodell, 469.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 72f.

whether that measure be brought forward by inconsistent slave-holders or by consistent freemen. It must embrace the whole sphere of human action, watching and opposing the slightest illiberal, anti-republican tendency; and concentrating its whole force and influence against slavery itself, in comparison with which every other species of tyranny is tolerable, by which every other is strengthened and justified."

Follen made his last contribution ¹ to antislavery literature in the autumn of 1838. In July of that year the *Christian Examiner* contained two articles ² in which the Abolitionists were accused of being wrong and unwise in their measures, and of having discussed the subject of slavery in a manner decidedly at variance with constitutional liberty of speech and of the press. Since Follen's name was on the list of contributors to the *Examiner* he was given permission ³ by the editors to send in an article in vindication of these charges on condition that it should contain no pointed answer to anything the *Examiner* had published against abolition. In his vindication Follen gave a complete resumé of abolition principles, emphasizing that political means were to be employed for the prohibition of slavery in all federal domains, but disclaiming any purpose on the part of the Abolitionists to interfere with the so-called state rights.

Concerning the political phase of abolition Follen expresses his views again in a letter ⁴ written about this time to Miss Martineau, as follows: "We Abolitionists have changed our political course. We are satisfied that abolition in the District of Columbia and prohibition of the internal trade are more important than all other political controversies of the day. So each is ready to waive his democratic or whig propensities in favor of the candidate who will vote for these two

¹ Antislavery Principles and Proceedings, published in the *Christian Examiner*, XXIII (November, 1838).

² Review of Dr. Wayland's Limitation of Responsibility, and of Miss Martineau's Retrospect of Western Travel.

³ *Works*, I, 493.

⁴ *Works*, I, 489f.

measures. This course, considering the nearly equal strength of the two parties, will give us a practical influence for freedom, which no attempt at forming a new party of our own would procure us. Think of the disgrace of the democratic members in the last Congress before the adjournment, agreeing upon a declaration of sentiments in which antislavery is denounced for the purpose of conciliating the South."

It was this attitude of subserviency on the part of the two great parties to the interests of the slave power that led the one wing of the political Abolitionists to discard the plan of holding a balance of power and to found an independent political party in 1840.¹ In view of the fact that Follen was a staunch advocate of such a party somewhat earlier, it is very probable that he would have affiliated with this new Liberty Party had he lived until its organization.

* * * * *

Follen's untimely death caused great sorrow in the ranks of the Abolitionists; they felt, as Mr. May expresses it, that "one of our towers of strength had fallen." Follen lost his life in January, 1840, and in February following, the Antislavery Society made arrangements to hold a great public memorial service in which Mr. May was to make the main eulogy. So strong was the feeling against the Society that all the churches of Boston were refused for this meeting.² Channing indeed offered his church, but the trustees would not give their consent.³ Even Follen's own church⁴ at East Lexington which had been built under his direction, and to the

¹ Goodell, 468ff.; Birney, 332ff.

² Cf. *Antislavery Conflict*, 258f. According to Chadwick's *Life of Channing*, 294, Wendell Phillips denounced this incident as the lowest depths of Boston's subserviency to the slaveholding interests.

³ Channing was greatly grieved by this insult to the memory of his friend; cf. *Channing's Life*, 571; Chadwick, 412, says also that the fact that Channing preached only a few more times in the Federal Street Church may be taken as a sign of his instinctive withdrawal from a ministry to which such an incident was possible.

⁴ The church is now called the Follen Church and a tablet in memory of Follen has recently been placed on its walls.

dedicatory exercises of which he was on his way when he met his horrible death, was refused. Not until April 27th was there a church unbarred, when Rev. Walker offered the use of Marlborough Chapel in which to hold the eulogy and other appropriate exercises commemorative of Follen's service to the cause of liberty both in Europe and in America. His struggle for political freedom and German unity had ended in exile. His moral courage, his boldness, and fearlessness in daring to lift up his voice in behalf of the enslaved had destroyed his prospects also in this country.¹ The consequent poverty and loss of friends made him a second time a martyr to the cause of freedom.

In regard to the part which the German-Americans took in the abolition of American slavery Follen was a pioneer paving the way for those who came later, especially the Forty-eighters, who played so important a rôle in the organization of the Republican party and in fighting the battles of the civil war. Had Karl Follen lived to continue his efforts and to take part in the great final conflict his name would without doubt stand high² in the list of those heroic spirits through whose labors and sacrifice the stain of slavery was blotted out of our national life.

CONCLUSION.

Follen exerted his greatest influence not so much by his writings as by his deeds. In summing up his various activities one is impressed by the fact that they emanated from a personality endowed with a moral will-power of extraordinary force. It is the manifestation of this will-power which gives his tragic career the character of an organic unity. The term "Der Unbedingte" under which he was known in his youth

¹ It is said that his prospects for promotion in the University and in the Unitarian Church were destroyed by his devotion to antislavery. Cf. May, *Antislavery Conflict*, 256f.; Whittier, *Poetical Works*, IV, 30; Carlos Martyn's work on Wendell Phillips, 108; Lindsay Swift's work on Garrison, 119, 144; J. J. Chapman's work on Garrison, 28.

² The service alone which he rendered the cause in his defense of free speech was great enough in the opinion of W. H. Channing to rank him among our national heroes and sages. Cf. *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII, 54.

characterized him to the end of his life. Whatever he recognized as just and true he pursued with unyielding perseverance regardless of the results. There was an element of heroism in his character.

To his moral strength was joined also great intellectual power. He was eminent not only in the field of benevolent action, but also in the realm of abstract thought. He had a profound knowledge of history and law, but his inclinations were chiefly to philosophical subjects, especially to questions concerning the nature and destiny of the human mind. With Kant he considered life a state in which man, as a free moral agent and faithful to duty, is to determine himself, is to advance amid trials and temptations toward a more perfect existence. In the discussion of such exalted themes his thoughts, often original, were arrayed in language beautified by his lively imagination and deep feeling.¹ His intellect and heart reacted upon each other. To use the words of Miss Peabody,² "his mind could comprehend any depths of principle, but he did not carry his brain in his head so much as in his heart." This beautiful harmony of his nature explains the secret of his remarkable influence.

It was Follen's idealism that made him a political and religious reformer. Imbued with the teachings of the idealistic philosophers and poets of Germany, he was filled with righteous indignation at the arrogant despotism of the German rulers of his time. For him to think and be convinced was to act; consequently he entered the struggle against absolute monarchism regardless of the cost to himself, espousing the cause of liberty with a moral heroism which could not be daunted by the threats of tyrants. In his attempt to overthrow despotism he was actuated only by the purest and noblest motives, by his sense of justice, his ardent patriotism, and his love of liberty. On account of his unflinching devotion to these ideals

¹ Cf. Miss Martineau, *Society in America*, III, 76: "The great mass of his knowledge is vivified by a spirit which seems to have passed through all human experiences."

² Cf. *Sprague's Annals*, VIII, 547.

he was driven from his native land, persecuted in person and in reputation.

Endowed with talents of the highest order, distinguished for his broad learning, and hailed as the champion of liberalism in Germany, he came to this country at a time when American life, as has been indicated, was in the initial stages of cultural and national evolution. With an unswerving devotion to his ideals of social, political, and religious freedom he identified himself with the chief reform movements of the times. In the lecture room of the College, from the pulpit and political platform, and through the press he contributed to the introduction of those German ideals which, by fusing with the best spirit of American civilization, were to become an important factor in the growth of our composite national culture. He was convinced that the highest of American and German ideals tended toward the same end:¹ a freer and more perfect humanity. While in character and aspirations he remained a true German he was at the same time a loyal and devoted citizen of this country.

In the sphere of higher education he was a living exponent of German freedom and thoroughness in teaching and in learning, thus contributing by precept and example to the remodeling of the American universities upon the German plan.² In the field of modern language instruction, especially of German, he was a pathfinder.

In matters of religion he found New England held in the bonds of sectarian prejudices, but seeking after those universal principles of faith that are convincing and inspiring to all hearts and minds. By his interpretation of German literature and idealistic philosophy, and by expounding the liberalism and spirituality of Schleiermacher he contributed in some

¹ It is interesting to note that several years before he left Europe he wrote the following, anticipating his future mission in this country: "Wenn es als die höchste Aufgabe des amerikanischen Gemeinwesens gilt, die Idee der Freiheit und Gleichheit in reinsten Form zu verwirklichen, so muss von Deutschland als dem Mittelpunkt der ganzen neuen Bildung auch für Amerika der tiefe geistige Gehalt ausgehen, der allein die Grundlage seines Bestrebens ausmachen kann"; cf. Haupt, 146.

² Cf. *Works*, III, 291ff.

measure to the spreading of religious principles which opened the way for a new religious life and a more scientific theology in this country. In view of the central position which religious thought still occupied in the American mind of his time his influence was that of a spiritual liberator who might have risen to national eminence had his career not been cut short by an untimely death.

True to his principles of reform he threw all the weight of his influence upon the side of the antislavery movement also. "I thank God," he exclaimed,¹ "that I have been allowed to embark in this great ark of liberty, floating upon the deluge of slavery that covers the East and the West, and bearing within it the seeds of the regeneration of the human race."

Personally he was preeminently a lovable character. The traits of his nature which most strongly impressed themselves upon people were his charming courtesy and his thoughtfulness of others. His portrait shows a face which reveals the rare and lofty spirit within. W. E. Channing describes him thus:² "He was a hero, a man of lion heart, victorious over fear, gathering strength and animation from danger, and bound the faster to duty by its hardships and privations; and at the same time he was a child in simplicity, sweetness and innocence. His countenance, which at times wore a stern decision, was generally lighted up with a beautiful benignity; and his voice, which expressed when occasion required it an inflexible will, was to many of us musical beyond expression from the deep tenderness which it breathed." His heart beat in unison with humanity. Although endowed with superior intellectual qualities and refined tastes he had the greatest respect for minds trained in simple habits, and the broadest sympathies with ordinary laboring men. Nature, too, was a perpetual joy to him; it was a part of that worship which was always arising from his soul to the creator of the universe. His wife tells³ us that he would step out of his path to avoid

¹ Ibid., I, 458.

² *Channing's Works*, 614.

³ *Works*, I, 406.

crushing the most common flower, that he looked up at the stars nightly with the same devout admiration as if they had just been hung in the unfathomable depths of the heavens, and that he rejoiced at the sight of the rising sun every morning as if it had just been created and he was beholding it for the first time.

Such is the record of his life and services. It was a career of disappointments, but the trials which he had to bear never conquered his spirit nor clouded his hope. After being expelled from positions of honor in Germany he secured in this country a sphere of activity which again opened up to him the opportunity of support and usefulness. But in spite of his great attainments and ability his life in the United States was one of hard struggle and narrow circumstances. Had he been less devoted to truth and duty, and ready to compromise, he might have gained high position,—at least a home and a comfortable living. To superficial observers his life may have seemed a failure; but, to use the words of W. H. Channing,¹ “in all that is best worth living for,—growth, peace, love, usefulness, honor, and abiding presence in grateful memories, Karl Follen was crowned with a perfect success.”

The news of Follen's sudden death cast a shadow of deep gloom over his large circle of friends. In speaking of his tragic end, Bryant,² who had learned to love and admire him in New York, eulogized him as follows: “The world had not a firmer, a more ardent, a more consistent friend of liberty. No man could have known him, even slightly, without being strongly impressed by the surpassing benignity of his temper. He is taken from us by a mysterious Providence in the midst of his usefulness.” Charles Sumner,³ who had been his pupil at Harvard, wrote to a friend: “Dr. Follen is gone; able, virtuous, learned, good, with a heart throbbing to all that is honest and humane.” Harriet Martineau⁴ characterized him

¹ *Christian Examiner*, XXXIII, 54f.

² Goodwin, *Life of Bryant*, I, 377.

³ *Life and Letters*, II, 133.

⁴ *Society in America*, III, 75f.

as the most remarkable and greatest man she had met in America. Dr. Channing¹ paid him the high tribute of being on the whole one of the best men he had ever known: "His loss is one of the greatest bereavements of my life. * * * I honored and loved him above most friends. * * * Such sweetness and such nobleness have seldom been joined. He was one of the few who won my heart and confidence."

In the following lines Whittier² has immortalized the name of his departed friend:

Friend of my soul! as with moist eye
I look upon this page of thine,
Is it a dream that thou art nigh,
Thy mild face gazing into mine?

That presence seems before me now,
A placid heaven of sweet moonrise,
When, dew-like, on the earth below
Descends the quiet of the skies.

The calm brow through the parted hair,
The gentle lip which knew no guile,
Softening the blue eye's thoughtful care
With the bland beauty of thy smile.

Thou livest, Follen! not in vain
Hath thy fine spirit meekly borne
The burthen of Life's cross of pain,
And the thorned crown of suffering won.

'Tis something to a heart like mine
To think of thee as living yet;
To feel that such a light as thine
Could not in utter darkness set.

¹ *Channing's Works*, 608.

² *Poetical Works*, Riverside Edition, IV, 30ff.

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THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN OUR COUNTRY.¹

BY DR. CHARLES FOLLEN.

The following remarks are intended to set forth in its various bearings, and consequences, *one principle*, which seems to me of the last importance to the success of the cause of Freedom in this country. Little as I can expect to do justice to the subject, I feel assured that in itself it is entitled to the attention and earnest inquiry of every one who looks upon the history and condition of his country, not with the eye of patriotic vanity, or party prejudice, but with the clear-sighted and enlarged interest of one whose patriotism is nothing else than philanthropy at home; whose judgment is not misled either by assumed names under which, as under a convenient temporary incognito, parties and sects know how to promote their real designs; nor by occasional diversions which local interests and personal attachments sometimes produce in the great operations of antagonist powers.

Under all the delusive appearances on the surface of society, the insignificant bustle, and the deceptive calm; in all the fluctuations of public opinion, the practiced eye of the unprejudiced observer will discern the incessant action and reaction, the steady current and the opposing tide, of two hostile principles which never make peace with each other but for the purpose of breaking it as soon as it has served them to gather strength for renewing their war of extermination. The internal history of every nation, every republic in particular, consists in the workings, the successful or unsuccessful conflicts, of the principles of Liberty, and of Oppression. I mean by Liberty, the possession of all the inalienable equal rights which belong to each human being as a necessary moral attribute of human nature—the right of each individual to use all his faculties of mind and body in any way not inconsistent with the equal freedom of his fellowmen; the right to

¹ First printed in the *Quarterly Antislavery Magazine*, October, 1836, p. 61ff.

share as far as possible equally, in all the means of improvement and enjoyment which this life affords; the right to form such social relations, domestic, civil, and religious, as may best secure the progressive happiness of mankind. And I mean by Oppression, any infringement, any undeserved and unnecessary abridgment, of those natural rights; whether it be imposed on a portion of men, or a single individual, either by the cunning of the few, or the violence of the many.

The political existence of our country is grounded on the Declaration of the natural, inalienable rights of man. Yet the worm of Oppression is gnawing every fibre of the frame, and the death-watch is heard in every part of our social edifice. The powers, pursuits, and attainments, by which some individuals naturally acquire an ascendancy over others, and which may be perverted into instruments of oppression, are in themselves right, and intended by their Author for the mutual aid and improvement of men. The acquisition of property; the comforts, and refinements of life; personal bravery, talent, learning, and skill; honor and office; and similar causes and means of personal advancement, are fitted to promote the equality of rights and the improvement of all, if they be made the executors of the great commandment, "He that is greatest among you shall be your servant." This declaration of the Son of man, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, bids us use our property and means of comfort, to raise those who without their guilt are deprived of these things, above the degrading dependence on the favor of their more prosperous fellowmen—our own favor as well as that of others. It bids us employ our knowledge and refinement, to instruct and civilize others; our bravery and honor, to defend the innocent against violence and contempt; our public offices, to execute justice; our liberty, to free the oppressed and raise them to equality with ourselves; our religion, to rouse mankind from the slumbers of superstition, the torpor of atheism, and the death of sin, by leading them to the eternal source of truth and love, and teaching them to recognize and reverence in each human being, the image of the living God. The natural inequality in the capacity and circumstances of men, the

fact that generally each individual is distinguished by the possession of something of which others are destitute, is adapted to give every one a chance of receiving, and imparting, according to his wants and superfluity, and thus by free and fair exchange, to equalize and raise the condition of all.

It is evident that the *service* which christianity enjoins as being due from man to man, is in truth the highest power, the widest influence that can be exercised by human beings. To serve a human being, a rational and moral agent, is to enable him to act out his own nature; it is to aid him in the free and harmonious exercise of all his faculties. And who is it that exerts the widest influence, the highest powers among men? The despot who impoverishes, corrupts and enslaves millions of his fellowmen; or the philanthropist, the servant of mankind, who liberates, and exalts them?

Our country is possessed of all the elements of physical, moral, and intellectual greatness—possessions which selfishness may convert into instruments of oppression; or philanthropy into republican blessings. Our political existence is based on the acknowledgement of the equality of human rights as the only just foundation of political governments. Can it be said of us, are we ourselves conscious, that we have really comprehended and embraced the great standard principle of republican association, to wit, that *God has made all things for all men; and those who have, are debtors to those who have not?* What is the result of our republican experience?

The result lies open before the world. The great experiment that was to determine the fitness of man for self-government, has been successful, wholly successful so far as it has actually been tried. Legislation and administration, every branch of industry, science, literature, and art, education, and religion, all have grown and flourished in our land wheresoever they have been committed, in good faith, to the virgin soil of freedom. Truly the planters of this fair garden of humanity sowed good seed; but the enemy sowed tares amidst the wheat. In the Declaration of our Independence we acknowledged the Good Principle as the only legitimate sovereign of this new world; but in the Constitution, or at least by the

received interpretation of it, we admitted the Evil Principle to a divided sway. *There* the inalienable rights of man were recognized as the only just foundation, and the infallible test of the validity of every law and the legitimacy of every government; *here* the successful vindicators of political justice pledged the sword of the law for the support of an aristocracy of absolute monarchs.

Slavery is not a local evil, that strikes only the spot on which it settles, with barrenness, it is a stagnant pool that infects the whole neighborhood, and aggravates every minor disorder in the body politic. I might set forth the advantages which this criminal inconsistency of our republic holds out to foreign invasion, and domestic conspiracy; I might adduce the provision by which the non-slaveholding citizens of this country, in case the standing army seems insufficient for the purpose, are obliged to take up arms in defense of the oppressors of their fellowmen. I might dwell on the fact that the political history of this country does not exhibit a difference of opinion or interest between the North and the South, though in itself wholly unconnected with slavery, which has not been exasperated and inflamed by this constant, this only fearful enemy of our Union. A still more fruitful subject for consideration would be the *moral* effect of slavery not only on the slaveholders, but on the whole people whose united power is pledged to enforce a system that justifies theft, adultery, and murder of every one who dares to resist the arbitrary violence of the legitimate oppressor. Can there be anything more demoralizing than a system of government which countenances the principle that the morality of an action depends on the color of the skin, or on the arbitrary behest of the law-maker? While citizens can keep black slaves to serve them at the South, is it to be wondered at, that they find white slaves to vindicate them at the North? nay, that ministers of religion should represent this masterpiece of human depravity, as the ordination of a just and benevolent Providence?

But it is not my object, at present, to exhibit Slavery in all its political and moral effects.—I wish to direct public attention to the fact that the *tendency to oppression*, of which

slavery is only the grossest manifestation, is apparent in our manners and habits as well as in our laws; and that when we see the anti-republicans in every walk of life and line of business endeavoring to strengthen their natural connection by actual alliance and co-operation, it is high time that the republicans of every description, the friends of universal freedom in speaking, printing, trading, manufacturing, voting, and worshipping, should recognize each other as fellow laborers, and learn consistency from their common enemy.

Illiberal principles, anti-republican tendencies, more or less powerful and refined, are increasing in our land, and endeavoring to modify our institutions, and modes of life, and to influence public opinion. The first fruits of Slavery—and truly the grain of iniquity has borne an hundred and a thousand fold—is the absurd and cruel prejudice against color, which excludes thousands from the best institutions for education; from the enlightening, refining, and elevating influences of society; from honorable and profitable employments; from the exercise of political privileges which are grounded on the natural rights of man.

Next to the African race, the Indian occupies the highest place among the victims of oppression. How dearly has the high-minded child of the forest paid for his incautious hospitality, his fatal credulity! Unnumbered instances have shown the Indian susceptible of civilization and true religion; but the Christian, the republican white man had other interests at heart than humanity and salvation; and to promote those interests, education and the Bible were found less efficacious than broken treaties, gun-powder and rum.

Besides these prominent defects and deformities in the conformation of our social system, we find symptoms of the same anti-republican spirit pervading every relation of private and public life. They are in part superannuated remnants of European feudal institutions; and in part they are indications of new-grown propensities to return to the same creations of political idolatry. Imprisonment of the honest debtor for insolvency, a remnant of feudal barbarism, is still supported by the laws of many of our States; although it has been abolished,

for centuries, on the continent of Europe by the introduction of the Civil Law.—Children can be bound out as apprentices, and thus placed in a much longer and severer relation to their masters than the laws of the civilized continent of Europe will allow.—Women, though fully possessed of that rational and moral nature which is the foundation of all rights, enjoy amongst us fewer legal rights than under the civil law of continental Europe. Chivalrous courtesy is a poor substitute for rights withheld. The deference so generally paid to women, often bears the character of condescending flattery rather than respect grounded on a sincere recognition of equality.

A taste and passion for aristocratic distinction is fostered and strengthened, in early life, by parents teaching their children to look upon those things which belong equally to all men, as low and vulgar; and to associate the idea of poverty with disgrace and vice until these words become almost synonymous; and the hearts of the young, these overflowing fountains of tenderness toward the unfortunate, and of indignation towards injustice, are checked in their natural course, and confined to people of their own color, and their own caste. The same unkind and dangerous sentiments are often the result of school and college education. Our highest seminaries of learning are made so expensive as to become accessible only to the children of the rich, or to those of the poor who are brought there by patronage. Patronage, though often the offspring of generosity, is but too apt to create in the favored individual a servile spirit, which with the possession of superior knowledge and influential connections, may make him the most dangerous enemy of the mass of men from which he arose. If to this constitutional defect of a literary institution, there be added an artificial system of ambition and emulation among the students, and an arbitrary government—it needs no prophet's eye to discern what fruits a republic will reap from such nurseries.

These and other seeds of an inordinate love of distinction are sufficient to account not only for the obsequious regards for titles of nobility, by which we are apt to render ourselves ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners; but also for that in-

temperate craving after office, which is so often gratified at the expense of conscience and the loss of self-respect. Closely allied with the love of distinction, and still more extensive in our country, is the eager pursuit of wealth. We strive after wealth in most cases not for any philanthropic object, not even for the comforts and luxuries which it may procure to the possessor, so much as for establishing and keeping up a style of living equally and if possible more magnificent than that of persons possessing the same amount of property. Our whole mode of life, dress, dwelling, furniture, domestics, etc., the society in which we move, the party to which we belong, the church and the pew in which we worship, all must be conformed to that factitious standard of *respectability* by which the "better sort of people" are distinguished from the vulgar. Thus we set at naught the great republican doctrine, that whoever faithfully discharges the duties of his office or occupation, is respectable, and *equally* respectable whether he be a clergyman or a layman, a merchant or a shopkeeper, a lawyer, a farmer, or a day laborer.—the same spirit which in the world of fashion upholds the hierarchy of classes, circles and clans, and keeps down individual opinion, feeling, and taste, is at work in the religious, and the political world. It is not confined to particular individuals, or parties; the friends of freedom in one sphere of action often act the part of oppressors in another. Now it is manifested by attempts at preventing persons who are engaged in the same trade or profession from associating for the purpose of raising the price of their labor; then again it is exercised by associations trying to force individuals to a compliance with their resolutions. Efforts are made to restrict the freedom of trade; and to impair individual industry, and lessen individual liability, by privileged corporations. Some men are endeavoring to make property instead of men the basis of political representation and to prevent universal suffrage; while among the opposers of these anti-republican tendencies, we find some who throw obstacles in the way of universal education, which by equalizing the opportunities of knowledge lays the foundation of the most perfect equality of power. Here, from a tender solicitude for the

salvation of his soul, a man is injured in his credit and business, in consequence of his conscientious adherence to an unpopular creed. There, the legislatures of free States are called upon to sanction a violation of the Constitution, and of the natural rights of man, by abridging the liberty of speech and of the press. And to complete these partial manifestations of the spirit of oppression, mobs are excited which usurp the sovereignty of the people, and in defiance of the laws and the Constitution, trample on the sacred rights of individuals and societies.

In sight of so many evils undermining the foundations of our liberty, and obstructing its progress, is the love of our country strong enough to prevent our hope and our faith from giving way to fear and despondency? Our dangers are real, and great indeed; but the power to resist and overcome them—the independent energy of the people—is inexhaustible; the principles on which our republic is founded, are eternal; the standard which its founders have set before us, is infinite.

There are redeeming influences sufficient to drive out the evil spirit, in whatever way and form it may have appeared amongst us. I have enumerated various ways in which Oppression has endeavored to gain a permanent footing in our country. But every attack of the enemy has raised up many resolute defenders. In the midst of all apparent tendencies to monarchy and aristocracy on the one hand, and to anarchy on the other, we see those who hold fast the principle, that in a republic as a collective free agent, all should govern and obey themselves; and who for this reason on the one hand advocate *universal suffrage*, because all who are to be bound by the laws are entitled to an equal share in making them; while on the other hand they oppose *mobs*, because those who have made the laws, are bound also to obey them. There are many still who contend that a republican government must be based upon men and not upon things; and that industry and trade, as well as religion and the press, are most prosperous and beneficial when neither forced nor restricted by legislative interference, but committed wholly to the operation of the great conservative principle, Live and let Live. We would fain believe also

that there are men who consider money and office simply and solely as means of doing good; and who look down with pity upon the proud elevations, and with indignation upon the walls of partition, which ambition has raised among men. For they hold that *man* is the highest of all the titles of this world; that the blood of which God has made all nations is the source of the oldest and most genuine nobility; and that the image which He has placed in the soul is the most glorious escutcheon. The efforts of those who would secure the highest sources of information for the benefit of those children whose parents are able to pay for superior advantages, have not prevented philanthropists from laboring to procure to all, without reference to pecuniary circumstances, the best education which the country and the present generation are able to afford. The absurdity as well as injustice of imprisoning the honest debtor has in most places called up a triumphant opposition. It begins to be thought also that the generosity which marks the conduct of men towards women will not pay off the debt of justice which the equality of our moral nature enjoins. The Indian native finds among the strangers who came to warm themselves at his fire, and extinguished it when they had lighted their own, at least some impartial friends whose earnest pleading though it can not protect him from the rapacity, may yet prevent his rising in witness at last against the whole race of his oppressors. And the colored man kneeling in his chains, finds among indifferent thousands one and more than one that will acknowledge him as "a man and a brother," yes, many a one who in spite of the Pharisee that supports slavery by the sword of the law, and the Priest that vindicates it from the Book of God, dares to be "a neighbor to him that fell among thieves."

I have endeavored to set in a clear light, side by side, the most important controversies which agitate our country; and to trace all this complicated variety of action and reaction to the fundamental principles of Liberty and Oppression. Whoever is acquainted with the powers which are engaged in this great warfare, must come to the conclusion that every attempt at oppression of any kind, in this country, must end in defeat

if only those who contend for Freedom in the various branches of private and public life, will recognize each other as fellow laborers in the same cause. It is not to be expected, so long as human beings remain human, that attempts at oppression, the workings of the selfish principle in man—will ever cease entirely, even under the freest form of government. The great permanent advantage of a republican over every other government, consists in the certainty that the cause of Freedom must conquer whenever the friends of Freedom act in unison. The simple reason then why in our country the cause of Freedom has been sometimes defeated, or not altogether victorious, is to be found in the fact that many of her boldest champions on one battle-field are engaged fighting in the ranks of her enemies on another.

There is no need of proving and illustrating this obvious truth.—It would be difficult indeed to believe if we had not witnessed it; if we had not seen defenders of the equal rights of citizens uniting with their antagonists in opposition to the advocates of the equal rights of men; if we had not seen avowed enemies of all monopolies and restrictions on industry and trade, siding with the supporters of slavery; and professed friends of law and order in society, among the instigators and abettors of mobs.

Those who are one in principle, should be one also in action. This great truth is urged upon the friends of freedom with peculiar force, by the superior practical sagacity of their antagonists. One look upon the state of society in this country and elsewhere is sufficient to see how those by wealth, or talent, or office, have risen to eminence in society, combine their means of influence in most cases not for diffusing independence, knowledge, and comfort, among their less favored fellow-men, but in order to keep themselves aloof from the mass in the exclusive enjoyment of their superior advantages. And the ministers of religion, the commissioned messengers of the Son of Man who came to establish a universal brotherhood among men, instead of insisting upon the exercise of distributive and retributive justice as the first condition of brotherly love, think their mission fulfilled when they admonish the

higher classes as they are called, to charity and condescension; and the lower classes as they are called, to contentment with their lot, and humble respect for their superiors.

But besides these results of general experience proving the existence of an elective affinity between the favored few, and the importance of a common center of gravity among the undistinguished many, there are facts of recent occurrence which must impress the friends of freedom in this country with the necessity of union and consistency among themselves. I refer to some remarkable sentiments which the recent agitation of minds on the subject of slavery has brought out. Some of the most distinguished and influential advocates of this system have in this important crisis abandoned the principles of equal rights and democracy which they had heretofore defended with a high-minded patriotic inconsistency, and have called upon the men of property in the non-slaveholding States, upon all who like themselves live upon the labor of others, to join them in their efforts of self-defence against a common enemy. One of the speakers¹ in the last Congress asked, "What was meant by the declaration that all men were born free and equal? Its meaning was that all were born to equal political privileges. This was an abstract truth, and had no political application. There was never a community where one class was not held in bondage by another class. Every nation was divided into capitalists and laborers." Another,² proceeding on the same ground of reasoning, remarked, "The sober and considerate portions of the citizens of non-slaveholding States, who have a deep stake in the existing institutions of the country, would have little forecast not to see that the assaults which are now directed against the institutions of the Southern States, may be very easily directed against those which uphold their own property and security. A very slight modification of the arguments used against the institutions which sustain the property and security of the South, would make them equally effectual against the institutions of the

¹ Mr. Pickens, in his speech in the House of Representatives, January 21, 1836.

² Mr. Calhoun, in his Report in the Senate, February 4, 1836.

North, including banking, in which so large an amount of its property and capital is invested." Many other similar remarks might be quoted in which slavery is represented as the cornerstone of republican freedom, and the only means by which the introduction of royalty and a hereditary nobility can be prevented in non-slaveholding states.¹ The amount is, that those who hold property in men, would persuade all those who hold property in things, that all attacks upon slavery are virtually assaults upon property;; and that instead of trying to convert the slaves of the South into free laborers, the men of property should combine to convert all laborers into slaves.

We would trust that there is among the men of property in the non-slaveholding states too much respect for what is worth more than wealth, to make them overlook the difference between men and things, and to think themselves more closely united with slave-owners than with those who own nothing but their own souls and bodies. Still, it can not be denied that at the North as well as at the South, slavery has been defended on the ground of its being a species of *property*. Nay more, the anti-abolition mobs which have disgraced many of our towns, and particularly our cities, have not been excited and promoted by those whose personal rights are their all, but by "men of property and standing," as they called themselves or were called by the newspapers and journals devoted to their interests. Many men of property, indeed, have disapproved of these criminal proceedings; but if the object of the mobs had been an attack upon a bank, or other depository of money, would our monied men have confined themselves to a mere expression of disapprobation?

Under such circumstances, it becomes those who have not lost all sense of the dignity of human nature, to declare that they consider the personal rights of man as the foundation of every other; and that they can not recognize any property which is inconsistent with that which every human being holds in his own soul and body. If there ever is to be in this country

¹ Gov. McDuffie's Message to the Legislature of South Carolina; Mr. Calhoun's Report; and the speeches of Mr. Pickens, and other advocates of Slavery.

a party that shall take its character and name not from particular liberal measures, or popular men, but from its uncompromising and consistent adherence to Freedom—a truly liberal, and thoroughly republican party—it must direct its first decided effort against the grossest form, the most complete manifestation of Oppression; and having taken anti-slavery ground, it must carry out the principle of Liberty in all its consequences. It must support every measure conducive to the greatest possible individual, and social, moral, intellectual, religious, and political freedom, whether that measure be brought forward by inconsistent slave-holders, or consistent freemen. It must embrace the whole sphere of human action, watching and opposing the slightest illiberal, anti-republican tendency; and concentrating its whole force and influence against Slavery itself, in comparison with which, every other species of tyranny is tolerable, by which every other is strengthened and justified.



Zur Geschichte der ersten deutschen Ansiedlungen in Illinois.

I

Die deutsche Niederlassung in Illinois, fünf Meilen östlich von Belleville.¹

Von Dr. G. Engelmann.

Zwanzig Meilen nach Osten von St. Louis, im Staate Illinois, hat sich eine deutsche Niederlassung gebildet, welche vor vier Jahren erst begonnen, so raschen Zuwachs erhielt, daß sie nun als der Kern der zahlreichen deutschen Ansiedlungen in jenen Gegenden betrachtet werden kann, um den sich neue Einwanderung beständig anschließt. Diese Niederlassung wird von Vielen in Bezug auf die Bildungsstufe und die Anzahl der dort herum wohnenden deutschen Familien und auf die einladende Geselligkeit des dortigen Lebens als eine der beachtenswerthesten im ganzen Westen, vielleicht in den ganzen Vereinigten Staaten angesehen; Andere wollen andern Niederlassungen am Missouri oder dem Illinoisflusse, oder anderwärts wenigstens gleichen Rang eingeräumt wissen. Wir wünschen hier keinen Streit anzuregen, und noch weniger ihn zu entscheiden, bitten aber Bewohner solcher Ansiedlungen, uns ähnliche Nachrichten über ihre Umgebung zu liefern, wie ich sie hier von der Niederlassung bei Belleville zu geben und so dem deutschen Publikum drüben und hier einen lang gehegten Wunsch zu erfüllen versuche.

Ich selbst war unter den ersten Deutschen, die in jene Gegend kamen; habe sie gekannt, als nur wenige Pflanzungen erst in den Händen unserer Landsleute waren, habe die Einwanderung zunehmen und das Wohlbehagen wachsen sehen; ich habe fast zwei Jahre da als Arzt gelebt, bin mit beinahe Allen befreundet, und wenn ich auch seit 1835 die Gegenden verlassen habe, so bin ich doch durch häufige Besuche in der engsten Verbindung mit den Ansiedlern geblieben. Schon 1835 gab ich Nachrichten über diese

¹ Aus der Zeitschrift „Das Westland,“ Heidelberg, 1837.

Niederlassung in einem Aufsätze „Besuch der deutschen Ansiedlungen in Illinois und Missouri“ betitelt, welcher im „Ausland“ abgedruckt und mit Interesse gelesen worden ist. Hier nun lege ich den Lesern eine ausführlichere Schilderung dieser jetzt vier Jahre alten Colonie vor, und wünsche mir Glück, ihnen zugleich durch die von Herrn J. Scheel (jetzt bei Vermessungen und Auslegung einer der Eisenbahnen angestellt, welche die Prärien von Illinois durchschneiden sollen) aufgenommenen Plankarte jener Gegend ein anschauliches Bild davon geben zu können.

Die Ansiedlung liegt fast ganz im Bereiche der Stadttschaft, Township,¹ welche auf der Karte dargestellt ist. In einem andern Aufsätze über Landvermessung wird die Eintheilung und Bezeichnung näher entwickelt werden; hier beschränke ich mich auf die Bemerkung, daß diese Stadttschaft die erste ist, welche nördlich von der Vermessungsbasis (in diesen Gegenden dem Breitengrade, welcher 102 Meilen nördlich von der Ohiomündung herzieht), und die siebente, welche westlich vom dritten Hauptvermessungs-Meridian (der durch die Ohiomündung geht) liegt. Die deutschen Gehöfte erstrecken sich 5 bis 9 Meilen östlich von der Bezirksstadt Belleville und 18 bis 22 Meilen ost-südöstlich von St. Louis.²

Die Gegend hat ein freundliches Ansehen. Die anmuthigen Wiesen sind nicht einförmig, nicht ganz flach, sondern wellenförmig, von Wäldchen und Gebüschen unterbrochen. Gruppen

¹ Township ist hier im Westen bloß eine geometrische Eintheilung, 36 Quadratmeilen, oder Sectionen in sich begreifend, während mit demselben Worte im Osten häufig eine politische Eintheilung bezeichnet wird, als Unterabtheilung des Bezirks, County; dann findet gewöhnlich auch nicht die regelmäßige Grenze statt, wie bei unsern vermessenen Townships. Man könnte Township eine Gemarkung nennen, die etwa eine Stadt einschließen könnte.

² Ueber beide Städte, in so fern sie für die deutschen Einwanderer und Ansiedler von Bedeutung sind, werden spätere Hefte ausführlicher handeln. Hier nur so viel, daß die Bevölkerung von Belleville seit 4 Jahren von 500 oder 600 auf 900 oder 1000 Einwohner gestiegen ist; daß eben so die Zahl der Wohnungen zunimmt und die der Kaufläden und Werkstätten sich in noch größerem Maße vermehrt. Zwei große Dampfmühlen, eine Sägemühle und eine Dampfbrennerei sind die ersten Zeichen der Fabrikthätigkeit, die von der Lage des Ortes, dem Reichthum an Steinkohlen und Holz und den günstigen Umgebungen zu schließen, bald hier aufblühen muß. — Noch weniger kann ich mich hier darauf einlassen, über St. Louis zu sprechen, dessen rasches Aufblühen jedem auffällt, der selbst nur 3 Monate abwesend war. Namentlich für die deutsche Einwanderung ist es der Hauptstapelplatz geworden.

von Rindvieh oder Pferden weiden zerstreut herum, und Niederlassungen, umgeben von Feldern und häufig von Obstgärten sieht man an den Gränzen des Waldes zwischen den Bäumen hervor, und auf den Wiesen selbst, wo möglich immer in der Nähe eines Baches oder eines Gebüsches. Wie die Karte zeigt, zerfällt die Prärie in einen südwestlichen Theil, welcher hügeliger und von viel Haselgebüsch unterbrochen ist, und einen nordöstlichen, welcher ebner, zum Theil auch feucht ist, und nur eine bedeutendere Höhe, den Schulhügel, hat. Den Namen, den man dieser Prärie vermuthlich von der Gestalt ihrer östlichen Arme gegeben hat, Schlingen-Prärie, Loop-Prärie, hört man selten, und viele kennen ihn kaum; weil bekannter sind die Namen der benachbarten Ridge Prairie (Hohen Prärie), von der sich eine Ecke im nordwestlichen Theil unserer Karte angegeben findet; der Looking glass-Prairie (Ausicht-Prärie), welche sich östlich und nordöstlich auf der andern Seite des Silbercreef weit hinzieht, der Twelf mille Prairie (die 12 Meilen lange Prärie — ein wunderlicher Namen, dergleichen man indessen hier oft findet) und der Sigh Prairie (Soh-Prärie, nicht Seu-Prärie, wie manche Deutsche meinen), welche beide südlich von hier liegen.

Ganz gegen die Localität der meisten andern Prärien, namentlich im Norden und Osten des Staates, und schon östlich vom Silbercreef, liegt hier das Wiesenland niedriger als der größte Theil des Waldes; die Ridge-, Looking glass- und Sigh Prärie tragen schon ihren Namen von ihrer Lage, und so sind die meisten; sie nehmen das Plateau des Landes ein und lassen für die Waldungen die niedriger gelegenen Ufer der Gewässer, wie sich das ja auch theilweise auf unserer Karte zeigt, wo sich am Silbercreef hin und an mehreren Bächen in den Wiesen Arme der Waldungen erstrecken. Hier finden wir aber im Nordwesten und im Süden zwei waldige Höhenzüge angegeben, welche in diesem flachen Lande als gar nicht unbedeutend erscheinen, und die Aussicht nach diesen beiden Richtungen aufs anmuthigste begrenzen. Beide Züge erstrecken sich gegen Belleville und vereinigen sich daselbst; der südlichere hat die größte Ausdehnung und ist unter dem Namen Turkenhill bekannt, der nördlichere scheint dem Blick etwas höher zu sein, führt aber keinen besonderen Namen; durch seine Lage indessen, welche einigen Schutz vor den Nordwestwinden gewährt,

durch den Umstand, daß viele deutsche Ansiedlungen an seinem Abhang liegen, und durch seine anmuthigen Formen, wo sich namentlich der höchste Rücken (da wo das kirchliche Versammlungshaus, Meetinghouse, steht) auszeichnet, ist dieser Höhenzug den deutschen Bewohnern von größtem Interesse; zugleich führt auch die Hauptstraße von St. Louis nach Louisville am Ohio und überhaupt nach dem Osten über ihn hin.

Nach Osten ist die Prärie von dem Walde des Silvercreektales begränzt, nach Westen zieht sie sich noch beinahe zwei Meilen über den Bereich unserer Karte, uneben und von vielen Gasselheden unterbrochen, hin, und auch da gränzt sie ein tiefliegender Wald ein.

Die Punkte, wo man die vollständigste oder angenehmste Aussicht oder Ansicht über die Gegend hat, sind die offenen Plätze an der nördlichen Höhe hin, die Pflanzungen von Wittwe Scott, von Pearce, Wittwe Thomas, Wolff und Ledergerber; in der Prärie der Schulhügel, und der Strich zwischen Hughes und Middlecoff; im Süden namentlich Randle's und Silgard's Niederlassungen und vor allen die von Gay. Süßliche Ausichten nach der Ridge Prairie hat man von den Wohnungen von Will Scott und Wittwe Adams.

Die Abwechselung von dem dunkeln hügligen Wald, den hellen lebendigen Wiesen, den kleinen Gainen und Gebüsch; dazwischen überall die Niederlassungen mit ihren oft freundlich angestrichnen Wohngebäuden, ihren Feldern und Obstgärten, machen diese Gegend gar anmuthig, und nachdem ich einen großen Theil des Westens durchwanderte, kann ich wohl sagen, daß ich nicht leicht eine andre Gegend gefunden, die mir so gefallen hätte. Solch ein Urtheil ist übrigens immer individuell, und ich läugne nicht, daß das meinige mir unbewußt bestochen, nämlich durch die Bewohner nicht weniger als durch die Gegend eingenommen sein könnte. Nur ein Glückchen vermisse ich, das durch die Prärie strömen sollte; blide ich aber auf unsere westlichen Bäche und Flüßchen, die durch ebenes Land fließen, so kann ich den Mangel nicht länger bedauern; der Silvercreek bietet ein Bild der allermeisten dar; er ist ein 20—30 Fuß breiter, hier und da flacher, oft aber recht tiefer, schmutziger Bach, zwischen tief ausgewühlten Ufern hinfließend, häufig von Baumstämmen versperrt, zuweilen rei-

ßend, die Ufer überfluthend, oft auch fast stille stehend, und an den flachen Stellen beinahe trocken. Das Land an ihm hin, sein Thal, bottom, ist flach, hie und da sumpfig, und überall zu sehr der Ueberschwemmung unterworfen, um angebaut werden zu können. Vom Bache selbst sieht man nichts, bis man an ihn kommt, und dann ist eben der Anblick nichts weniger als erfreulich. Darum kann ein solcher Bach einer Gegend grade keinen Reiz geben.

Ueber das Klima brauche ich nichts zuzufügen, indem das, was ich im ersten Hefte über das Klima oder Umgegend von St. Louis gesagt, völlige Anwendung auf diesen Distrikt findet, in welchem ich sogar einen Theil der dort gemachten Beobachtungen angestellt habe.

Den Gesundheitszustand hatte ich als Arzt die beste Gelegenheit zu beobachten, und glaube mich noch ebenso darüber aussprechen zu müssen, wie ich es in dem Eingange erwähnten Aufsatze vor 2 Jahren gethan. Allgemeine Ansichten über die Gesundheitsverhältnisse des ganzen Westens habe ich in einer Arbeit niedergelegt, welche in einem der folgenden Hefte erscheinen wird. Ich beschränke mich hier nur darauf, auszusprechen, daß ich die Gegend jener deutschen Niederlassung zu den gesundesten rechnen muß, die ich hier habe kennen lernen; oder, um mein Urtheil mehr zu motiviren, daß ich dort so wenige Krankheiten gefunden habe, als sonst irgendwo im Westen. Diese beiden Sätze sind nicht ganz gleichbedeutend; denn es ist bei mir zur festen Ueberzeugung geworden, daß die Ansiedler selbst durch ihre Lebensweise außerordentlich viel dazu beitragen, Krankheitsursachen, die das Klima bieten mag, zu entwickeln oder zu überwinden. Eine ebensowohl mäßige als auch nicht durch Entbehrungen verkümmerte Lebensweise, und Vermeiden ungewohnter übermäßiger Anstrengung hat Viele unserer Landsleute vor Krankheiten geschützt oder hat sie einzelne Anfälle leichter überwinden lassen; so wie ich auf der anderen Seite oft gesehen, daß Mißachtung solcher Vorsicht sie auf das Krankenlager geworfen und selbst dem Tode zugeführt hat. Ist also eine Gegend von solchen vernunftgemäß lebenden Bewohnern angesiedelt, so wird sie selbst unter gleichen Naturverhältnissen leicht den Ruf größter Gesundheit erlangen. Mag dem sein, wie ihm will; während der Zeit, daß ich dort praktisirte, fast 2 Jahre, erkrankten von 70 bis 80 Deutschen, die jene Niederlas-

fung damals bildeten, etwa 12—15 Menschen und 2 starben, davon der Eine an einem Uebel, welches man nicht dem Klima zuschreiben konnte. Dies scheint mir ein so günstiges Resultat, wie man es in vielen Gegenden von Deutschland nicht besser findet. Seitdem herrschten namentlich im Sommer 1835 etwas mehr Krankheiten, zumal Wechselfieber; 1836 konnte man aber noch weniger klagen, als 1834 und nur zwei andere Todesfälle traten in diesen Jahren, wo die deutsche Bevölkerung sich verdoppelt hatte, ein, beide bei Leuten, die durch Mißachtung jener Vorsichten sich die Krankheit zugezogen oder verschlimmert hatten. Demnach kann ich die Behauptung aufstellen, daß solche Einwanderer, die vernunftgemäß leben wollen oder leben können, dort auf einen fast eben so günstigen Gesundheitszustand rechnen können, als sie es zu Hause gewohnt waren, daß aber Uebertretungen solcher Regeln sich hier härter und schneller bestrafen, als dort. An Brust-übeln und Entzündungskrankheiten leidet man hier entschieden weniger als in den nördlichen Breiten oder den Gebirgsgegenden Deutschlands.

Nun schlußgemäß über mineralischen, vegetabilischen und animalischen Reichthum der Gegend zu sprechen, kann ich mich kaum entschließen, doch erlaube mir der geneigte Leser einige Bemerkungen. Daß auf den Wiesen Gras und im Walde Bäume wachsen, wird er vermuthen; doch muß ich hinzufügen, daß von ersterem nicht viel vorhanden, und an letzteren auch hie und da Mangel ist; denn das Vieh zerstört nach und nach das Präriegras, und andere Kräuter, perennirende Blumen und Stauden nehmen seinen Platz ein, oder Haselheiden sprießen auf; und der Wald ist theilweise schon traurig durchgelichtet, so daß wenigstens an gutem Bauholz auf manchen Besitzungen Mangel herrscht. Nadelholz ist keines da, selbst die sonst so häufige felsenliebende Eeder (Weißtichholz, virginischer Wachholder) fehlt — weil keine Felsen da sind; Eichen und Nußbaumarten bilden den Hauptbestand des Waldes, und wie gewöhnlich wachsen die brauchbarsten Arten auf und an den Höhen.

Unter der Dammerde, welche in den Prärien von 1—2 zu 10—15 Fuß stark ist, und auf den Höhen oft nur wenige Zoll beträgt, liegt meist Lehm, und unter diesem hat man beim Graben von Brunnen zähen blauen Thon oder Letten gefunden; an einigen

Plätzen der nördlichen und südlichen Hügel findet sich auch — hier eine Seltenheit — Sand, dem gelegentlich nachgegraben wird. Felsen hat man, so viel ich weiß, nur in dem Thale östlich von dem Meetinghouse gefunden, eine Art von Sandsteinconglomerat. Kalksteine werden etwas weiter nach Norden gebrochen und zum Ausmauern von Kellern und Brunnen verwendet. Von Metallen, edlen oder unedlen, findet sich keine Spur, eben so wenig hat man noch Steinkohlen entdecken können, die bei Belleville und weiter oberhalb am Silvercreef in bedeutenden Lagern gefunden werden. Worauf sich der Name letzteren Fließchens, Silberfluß, bezieht, läßt sich nicht mehr ergründen. In der Gegend finden sich mehrere Quellen mit trefflichem Wasser, an den beiderseitigen Hügeln hin; eine davon, auf Herrn Sildebrands Besizung, hat einen nicht ganz unbedeutenden Schwefelgehalt, der mich allerdings, aus Gründen, die es hier zu weitläufig wäre zu entwickeln, auf Steinkohlen schließen läßt. Auf den meisten Pflanzungen ist man indessen genöthigt gewesen, Brunnen zu graben, und hat dadurch, dem gewöhnlichen Vorurtheil entgegen, eben so gutes als meistens reichliches Wasser erhalten.

Habe ich dem Gewächkreich und der unorganischen Natur so viel Raum gewidmet, so muß ich nun schon gerecht sein und auch für die Thiere einige Stellvertreter erscheinen lassen. Hirsche (daß der hiesige verschieden von dem europäischen sei, und kleiner, ist bekannt) gibt es noch ziemlich viele hier; sie bilden nebst den Truthühnern und Prärielühnern und zur geeigneten Jahreszeit Enten einen Gegenstand der Jagd, welche indessen mehr des Vergnügens als des Nutzens wegen und nur gelegentlich betrieben wird. Die Vortheile aber, die diese Thiere gewähren mögen, werden wieder reichlich aufgewogen durch den Schaden, welchen die kleineren Raubthiere, das Beutelthier (Opoffum), der Waschbär (Racoon), der Marder (Mink), das Stinkthier und der Fuchs nebst Habichten und Eulen unter dem Geflügel, die Eichhörnchen und Waschbären in den Maisfeldern, die Hasen oder Kaninchen (oder eigentlich ein Mittel Ding zwischen beiden) in Gärten und zumal an jungen Obstbäumen, und viele Vögel an Äpfeln und Kirschen anrichten. Präriewölfe (zwischen Fuchs und Wolf die Mitte haltend) lassen sich in den Prärien im Winter häufig hören, und rauben wohl auch einmal ein Schaaf oder ein junges Schwein:

Panther (Couguar) hat man seit langer Zeit nur einmal, im December 1834, am Silbercreef gespürt und von Bären weiß man gar nichts mehr. Fische gibt es einige im Silbercreef, Schildkröten in allen Bächen und auf den Wiesen; Schlangen sieht man überall; von giftigen habe ich nur die Klapperschlange gesehen, schädlicher ist aber die große schwarze Schlange, welche die Hühner ersticht und ihre Eier oder Jungen frisst. Frösche lassen sich im Frühling eine Menge hören, und in mancherlei Tonarten, des sonstigen kleinen Ungeziefers ist auch eine angemessene Proportion: Gefäßer, Schmetterlinge und Motten aller Art; Waldböcke in Hecken und Haselgebüsch in Menge; und etwas weniges Muskiten, die sich jedoch meist auf die Nähe des Silbercreefs beschränken.

Der ackerbare Boden ist meistens von vorzüglicher Güte, namentlich ist in den Prärien die Lage der schwarzen Dammerde sehr stark, wie oben bemerkt. Das beste Land ist da, wo die Prärien nicht ganz eben sind, daher dem Wasser leichten Abfluß gestatten, ohne durch dasselbe abgeschwemmt zu werden; zumal zieht man das Land vor, wo Haselgebüsch wächst; ganz ebene, niedrige Präriestellen leiden öfter in nassen Jahren, werden aber immer vortreffliches Land für künstliche Wiesen bieten. Im Wald ist das Land weniger gut, und da, wo es sehr abhängig ist, wird die fruchtbare Erde von solchen Feldern, die schon einige Jahre in Kultur waren, abgespült; bei guter Behandlung, wie man sie hier freilich nicht gewohnt ist, würde dieser Boden indessen immer noch vorzüglichen Weizen, Gerste und Hafer liefern, wenn auch schon Mais nicht mehr darauf gedeihen will.

Die Produkte des Landes sind: Mais, Weizen, Hafer, Gerste, etwas Roggen; Äpfel und Pflirsche; Gemüse jeder Art und Kartoffeln; sodann Schweine, Schaafe, Rindvieh und Pferde, von denen die drei letzteren fast nur für eigenen Bedarf gezogen werden. Mais bleibt noch ein Hauptartikel, obwohl die anderen Getreidearten immer mehr an Wichtigkeit gewinnen. Er gedeiht sehr gut und in den Prärien ganz vortrefflich; doch leidet der, welcher vielleicht wegen nasser Witterung im Frühjahr erst spät gepflanzt werden konnte, zuweilen durch Frühfröste im September und October. Weizen gedeiht nicht immer gleich gut und leidet öfter in den so sehr wechselnden, oft nassen Wintern. Besser verträgt es der Roggen hier, und Gerste und Hafer liefern gewöhn-

lich reiche Ausbeute. Die Äpfel sind, obwohl häufig nicht gepflöpft, meist sehr gut; sie gerathen wohl und liefern einen ausgezeichneten Wein, welcher gut behandelt nur an Geschmack, kaum an Stärke den gewöhnlichen Weinen nachsteht. Nur im Jahre 1834 tödtete ein Spätfrost Ende April nach einer ungewöhnlich vorgerückten Frühjahrsvegetation die jungen Äpfel; ein anderer Fall der Art soll indessen nicht vorgekommen sein; Pfirsiche dagegen leiden häufig und 1836 war das erste Jahr, wo ich sie hier reichlich gefunden habe; die Bäume waren aber auch zum Niederbrechen voll, und dieses Jahr tragen sie wieder eben so viel. Die Frucht wird häufig getrocknet, auch brennt man einen guten Branntwein daraus, doch hat sie den Werth nicht für den Deconomen, den die Äpfel darbieten. Unter die neuen Versuche der Deutschen gehört die Anlage eines Weinbergs und eines Obstgartens mit europäischen Sorten. Ersterer ist von Hrn. F. Engelmann angelegt worden, auf dem Abhange eines Hügelns in einer ausgezeichnet gut gegen Kälte und besonders die verderblichen Spätfroste geschützten Lage. Die Reben, von 6—8 Sorten, wurden 1833 aus Rheinbaiern gebracht, konnten erst im Juni gepflanzt werden, litten das folgende Frühjahr wieder durch Auspflanzen, erholten sich aber nach manchem sonstigen Mißgeschick nach und nach, trugen im vergangenen Jahre einige Beeren und versprechen eine reiche Erndte in diesem Herbst. Wie sie gedeihen werden, welche Arten die besten für dieses Klima und diesen Boden sind, und ob die Trauben nicht bloß zum Essen sondern wirklich auch zu Wein taugen, bleibt den nun fortlaufend anzustellenden Versuchen zur Entscheidung überlassen. Ein vielleicht weniger glänzendes aber vielleicht nützlicheres Ziel suchte Herr J. Ledergerber durch Verpflanzen europäischer (elsasser, aus Bollwiler) Obstarten hierher zu erreichen. Er ließ im Winter 1834/5 mehrere hundert Stämme veredelter Obstsorten jeder Art, namentlich Birnen, Kirschen, die verschiedenen Pflaumenarten und Walnußbäume kommen, und pflanzte sie im März des Jahres 1835. Fast zwei Drittheile der Bäume, welche Ankauf und Transport zusammen gerechnet immer billiger kommen, als hiesige Obstbäume (unveredelte Äpfelbäume ausgenommen) sind recht kräftig gewachsen; mehrere davon blühten dies Frühjahr, und einige davon scheinen schon Früchte tragen zu wollen.

Kartoffeln gerathen vorzüglich gut hier; sie tragen sehr reichlich und sind im Durchschnitt besser als man sie im Osten findet, wenn sie schon die bessern deutschen Sorten, oder die in Wisconsin und dem Norden von Illinois gezogenen nicht erreichen. Bataten, oder sogenannte süße Kartoffeln werden wenig gebaut; sie gedeihen nicht jedes Jahr gut, und verlangen einen warmen und dauernben Sommer. Die gewöhnlichen Gartengemüse wachsen vorzüglich schön, wenn das Wetter nicht zu heiß und trocken ist, in diesem Falle leiden allerdings die Kohlarten. Erbsen, Bohnen, Salat, Rettige und vieles Andere wächst in unendlicher Fülle bei geringer Pflege; unter die größte Sorge für den Garten gehört aber immer die, das Unkraut zurückzuhalten, welches mit erstaunlicher Ueppigkeit emporsteigt. Baumwolle wird nur von den amerikanischen Nachbarn gebaut; sie liefert geringen und unsichern Ertrag und kann nur für den Hausgebrauch verwandt werden, wo sie gesponnen und mit der Schaafwolle verwebt wird. Oel Saat oder Raps hat man im Kleinen zu bauen versucht, und will günstige Resultate erzielt haben; augenscheinlich bestehen aber noch keine Mühlen, um daraus Oel zu schlagen, und ob dies Oel bei dem verhältnißmäßig geringen Preise des gereinigten Fischthrans mit diesem als Brennöl wird concurriren können, bleibt zu untersuchen. Tabak, dessen Anbau in dem benachbarten Missouri jetzt sehr in Aufnahme kommt, und der da sehr wohl gedeiht, und viel größern Gewinn als die Feldfrüchte abwirft, hat man noch nicht angepflanzt; Einige stellen in Frage, ob der schwere schwarze Boden der Prärien so geeignet sei, die feineren Sorten hervorzu bringen, als der eben so fruchtbare aber leichtere Boden vieler Theile des Missourithales.

Die Viehzucht ist der Natur beinahe ganz überlassen; Wenige halten Einige ihrer Pferde eingesperrt, und nur Einer oder Zwei füttern die übrigen das ganze Jahr, um sie immer bei der Hand zu haben und sie nicht der Gefahr des Weglaufens (vielleicht auch Stehlens) auszusetzen, wodurch die dortigen Deutschen schon 6—8 Stück verloren haben. Die meisten Pferde laufen frei herum, und werden nur, wenn sie gebraucht werden und den Winter durch gefüttert. Noch weniger thut man für das Rindvieh, welches nur nothdürftig durch den Winter Futter erhält, und dessen Fortpflanzung ganz ihm selbst überlassen bleibt. Dasselbe ist mit

Schaaßen und Schweinen der Fall, die man nur so viel füttert, daß sie sich an den Hofplatz gewöhnen, und durch den Winter erhalten können. Die Schweine werden, wenn es gute Mast gibt, schon durch diese ziemlich fett, werden aber gewöhnlich mit Mais ausgemästet, und zu eigenem Gebrauch geschlachtet und geräuchert, oder an Metzger der Städte oder Kaufleute, die sie gesalzen nach New-Orleans senden, verkauft. Alle diese Hausthiere gedeihen sehr wohl; wenn aber, wie es nicht selten geschieht, gar keine Sorgfalt darauf verwandt wird, gehen auch viele wieder zu Grunde, und sind vielleicht Wochen lang schon eine Speise der Geier, ehe man ihre Abwesenheit bemerkt. Dasselbe Verhältniß tritt mit dem Federvieh ein; es vermehrt sich außerordentlich stark, aber außerdem, daß es durch Raubthiere leidet, gehen viele Jungen durch schlechte Witterung verloren. Wo indessen, wie bei einigen Ansiedlern der Fall ist, sorgfältigere Pflege statt findet, ein Hühnerhaus da ist u. s. w., gedeiht es sehr gut und belohnt reichlich die darauf verwandte Mühe.

Haben wir uns so lange mit dem Land und seinen Producten abgegeben, so ist es nun Zeit, den Bewohnern und zumal den deutschen Ansiedlern unsere Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen.

Die ersten Niederlassungen in dieser Gegend fallen in die dem letzten englischen Krieg vorausgehende Zeit, etwa die Jahre 1810—12 und waren mit in das so genannte Turkey-hill-Settlement begriffen, das damals auch die Ridge Prairie und die Gegend von Belleville einschloß, jetzt aber nur die Niederlassungen auf den südlichen Hügeln bezeichnet. Die Familien Moore, Scott, Watts und West werden unter denen genannt, welche hier der Cultur Bahn brachen; die beiden ersten wohnen noch, vielfach verzweigt, hier; die beiden andern haben die Gegend verlassen, zum Theil von Deutschen ausgekauft. Nach und nach bevölkerte sich die Gegend mehr, und bis auf 10 oder 12 neuere Ansiedlungen waren alle auf unserer Karte angegebenen schon vor 1832 gegründet. Bereits vor diesem Jahre, und meines Wissens schon 1830 waren ausgewanderte deutsche Landleute nach diesen Theilen von Illinois vorgebrungen und hatten sich in verschiedenen Richtungen um Belleville auf Congreßland niedergelassen oder hatten amerikanische Gehöfte gepachtet; einige wenige kauften Ländereien vom Staat oder aus Privathand. So waren eine oder zwei deutsche

Ansiedlungen namentlich auch auf dem Turken hill entstanden, aber erst 1832 kam *H. Merkel* aus der Gegend von Seligenstadt hierher, der erste, der sich im Bereich der jetzigen deutschen Niederlassung ankaufte, und acquirirte eine Pflanzung, die sich noch immer durch ihren trefflichen Obstgarten und den Humor und die Gastlichkeit ihres Besitzers auszeichnet.

Um dieselbe Zeit richtete sich die Auswanderung aus den gebildeten Ständen Deutschlands, welche sich bis dahin nur gar spärlich in die Mississippiländer verloren hatte, nach St. Louis, und rechts und links vom Flusse, landeinwärts. Schon 1831 waren die Schweizerfamilien des *Dr. Köppli* und *H. Suppiger* nach der Looking-glass-Prairie im damaligen Madison- (jetzt Clinton-) Bezirke, und im folgenden Jahr *Dr. Gerke* und sein Sohn aus Hamburg nach dem Marine-settlement (einer ursprünglich von neuengländischen Seeleuten gegründeten Niederlassung) nicht weit von ersteren eingewandert, und beide haben seitdem einen Kreis von deutschen Niederlassungen um sich gezogen. Aber erst im Mai 1833 kamen die Brüder *Th. und E. Hilgard* aus Speier mit den Herren *F. Wolff* aus Freinsheim und *S. Ledergerber* aus St. Gallen auf einer Untersuchungsreise durch die Umgegend von St. Louis nach der Loopp Prairie und kauften, die Annehmlichkeit dieser Gegend allen andern von ihnen besuchten Strichen vorziehend, im folgenden Monate die in diesem Augenblicke von ihnen besessenen Gehöfte. Eine Verkettung von Umständen, worunter vornehmlich die zu rechnen, daß um dieselbe Zeit eine rheinbaierische Auswanderungsgesellschaft unter der Leitung von *Dr. Geiger*, ein Theil der bekannteren rheinhessischen Gesellschaft unter *G. Sandherr* und Hauptm. *Wilhelm* (ein anderer Theil war nach Arkansas, ihrem ursprünglichen Bestimmungsorte, gegangen) und eine unverbundene kleine Gesellschaft aus Rheinbaiern, bestehend aus den Familien *Engelmann*, *Aben* und *Kölch*, in St. Louis ankamen, welche alle mehr oder weniger unter einander und mit den schon angesiedelten Brüdern *Hilgard* befreundet und zum Theil verwandt waren: — diese Umstände, mehrere der Neuangekommenen herüber ziehend, vermehrten schnell die kleine Ansiedlung, die nun im Herbst dieses Jahres schon aus 9 oder 10 Familien bestand. Die Meisten waren aus derselben Gegend Deutschlands, aus der schönen Rheinpfalz gekommen, die Meisten waren, wie gesagt,

schon früher unter einander eng verbunden; sie wohnten alle in einer anmuthigen Gegend und befanden sich meist in nicht ungünstigen äußern Verhältnissen; über viele Beschwerden der ersten Ansiedlung halfen sie sich einander, halfen ihnen ihre freundlichen amerikanischen Nachbarn weg, welche bald einen Unterschied zwischen Deutschen und Deutschen zu machen lernten, und so konnte es nicht fehlen, daß ein glückliches gegenseitiges Verhältniß eintrat, was den Aufenthalt daselbst den Bewohnern angenehm und den fremden Besuchern reizend macht, in das die spätern Ansiedler erfreulich einpaßten, und das sich (ich mag kaum die wenigen, überall im geselligen Leben gelegentlich eintretenden Störungen erwähnen) immer mehr befestigt und verschönert hat.

Wenn ich vorhin von 9 oder 10 Familien gesprochen, so war das in so fern nicht ganz richtig, als mehrere unverheirathete junge Männer Land angekauft hatten. Dies waren die Herren Th. und E. Hilgard aus Speier, F. Wolf und A. Dilg aus Freinsheim und Oppenheim, J. Lebergerber aus St. Gallen und M. Rupelius aus Grünstadt; der erste und die beiden letzten verheiratheten sich noch in diesem oder dem folgenden Jahre. Die Familien, welche sich 1833 hier ankauften, waren die der Herren F. Engelmann von Sinsbach, E. Haren von Winweiler, G. Kölsch aus Kirchheim, G. Fritz aus Neustadt, Wittwe Aben aus Marnheim, G. Sandherr aus Worms und J. Fleischbein aus Landau, welcher letztere sich etwas außerhalb der Grenze unserer Karte niederließ. Auch die Familien Knobloch und Fischer aus dem Darmstädtischen kamen in diesem Jahre in die Gegend, so wie überhaupt eine große Anzahl deutscher Landleute um dieselbe Zeit zumal nach den Hügeln und Thälern des Turkey hill zogen.

Viele unverheirathete junge Männer kamen um dieselbe Zeit oder etwas später hierher; Einige davon, die Herren G. Neuhoff aus Frankfurt, Busch aus Mainz und J. Leist aus Bamberg, kauften sich zusammen an; eine nicht geringe Anzahl anderer, unter denen die Herren G. Körner aus Frankfurt, R. Schreiber aus Meiningen, E. Friedrich aus Leipzig, W. Decker aus Grüneberg, W. Weber aus Altenburg, J. Lindheimer aus Frankfurt, der Verfasser dieses und die Söhne der Familie Engelmann, größtentheils Universitätsfreunde, hausten in einem, Herrn F. Engelmann zugehörigen, von seinem Wohnhaus eine halbe Meile entfernten

Gebäude, das unter dem Namen der obern Farm bekannt, jetzt verlassen unter den schönen Catalpas hervor durch die Baumgipfel herabschaut in die Wiesenründe. Ein anderer Junggefellensitz der Art war die Hilgardsche Besitzung, wo außer den beiden Brüdern, sich die Herren Th. Kraft aus Ragweiler, G. Heimberger aus Speier, Dr. Gust. Bunsen und Dr. Verchermann aus Frankfurt und später A. Cunradi aus Augsburg eine Zeitlang aufhielten, bis im nächsten Jahr die Rückkunft des wieder nach Deutschland gereisten Hrn. Th. Hilgard mit seiner Gattin die Junggefellenthwirtschaft in eine freundlichere Häuslichkeit verwandelt.

Im Jahre 1834 zerfiel die große Giesener Auswanderungsgesellschaft, welche so viel versprochen hatte, und einige ihrer Mitglieder, die Herren Georg Bunsen aus Frankfurt in Verbindung mit dem schon früher angekommenen Dr. Verchermann und Herr F. Köhler aus Altenburg siedelten sich hier an. Die Ankunft der Familie Wör und Birschbacher fällt in dieselbe Zeit. Die Herren Neuhoff u. Comp. verkauften ihr Land an die Herren Bunsen und Verchermann; Herr Busch verband sich mit der Wittwe des verstorbenen Herrn Fritsch und Herr S. Engelmann ließ das auf der Karte mit seinem Namen bezeichnete Land ankaufen.

Früh im folgenden Jahre kamen die Herren Dr. A. Neuf und Dr. A. Schott, beide aus Frankfurt, mit ihren Familien hier an, und kauften eine der schönsten Besitzungen in dieser Gegend; bald darauf folgte die Raifingsche Familie aus Rheinhessen.

Hatten sich bis dahin die Einwanderer, voll von den schönen Ideen über Landleben in Amerika, wie wir Alle sie in Deutschland ausgesponnen, nur zu gerne fortbauend auf Schilderungen, die in ihrer Allgemeinheit bloß halb wahr waren:—hatten sich bis dahin die Einwanderer alle nach dem Lande und zusammengedrängt, so trat jetzt eine Reaction ein. Viele hatten jetzt, nach ein- bis zweijähriger Erfahrung, eingesehen, daß der Landbau hier weder so mühelos, noch so einträglich sei, als sie sich vorgestellt, sie sahen, daß sie wenig zu Wege bringen konnten, während ihre amerikanischen Nachbarn auf gleich gutem Lande treffliche Erndten machten, und die nahen deutschen Landleute zum Theil auf ärmerm Boden bald so viel verdienten, daß sie ihre Schulden abtragen konnten. Ich behalte mir vor, unten über diese Verhältnisse und die wichtigen sich daraus ergebenden Fragen einiges

Weitere zu sagen. Die Folge derselben war bei Einigen, daß sie andere Erwerbszweige neben der Landwirthschaft aufsuchten, so errichtete Herr Engelmann eine Stärkesabrik, Herr Busch eine Brantweinbrennerei und Herr Rupelius fing an zu predigen; bei andern bildete sich die Ueberzeugung, daß das Vortheilhafteste für sie sei, zu ihren früher gewohnten städtischen Geschäften zurückzu-
kehren, oder neue ihren Neigungen angemessenere zu beginnen. Herr Th. Krafft hatte sich schon früher in Belleville mit dem hiesigen Kaufmannswesen vertraut gemacht und etablirte nun daselbst in Verbindung mit einem Amerikaner, Planagen, eine Handlung, die jetzt in Belleville den ersten Rang einnimmt. Herr Heimberger war nach New-Orleans, die Herren Friedrich und Lindheimer nach Mexiko gegangen, von denen sich indessen ersterer jetzt nach Deutschland, letzterer nach Texas begeben hat, Herr Schreiber hatte eine Expedition nach den Felsengebirgen und dem stillen Meere begleitet, und jagt noch dort in den Wildnissen. Herr Dr. jur. Körner besuchte, das hiesige Rechtswesen zu studieren, die Universität Lexington in Kentucky, und ließ sich dann in Belleville als Rechtsanwalt nieder; eben da erfüllte Herr Raifing seinen Landbau verlassend den in civilisirter Gesellschaft nicht minder nothwendigen Beruf des Metzgers, während die Herren Fleischbein und Dilg (ersterer hatte seine Besitzung an H. v. Saxthausen, letzterer seinen Antheil an Herrn Wolff und J. Schwé verkauft) die durstigen Bewohner des Städtchens und der Gegend mit trefflichem Bier zu versehen begannen.¹ Später zog Frau Uben nach Belleville, der Erziehung ihrer Kinder wegen; Herr Busch ging mit seiner Familie dahin und treibt daselbst Küferei; die Herren Silgard und Wolff errichteten eine Dampfbrennerei dicht vor dem Städtchen. Andre Deutsche, Aerzte, Handwerker und Schenkwirthe strömten von andern Seiten dem Städtchen zu. In St. Louis dagegen etablirte sich Herr E. Saren, der sein Landgut einem andern H. v. Saxthausen verkauft hatte, als Kaufmann; eben dahin ging Herr Th. Engelmann und errichtete ein Commissions- und Geschäftsbureau; später Herr Weber als Redakteur der dortigen deutschen Zeitung, des „Anzeigers des Westens“ und der Verfasser

¹ Die Bierbrauerei ging vor Kurzem in die Hände der Herren E. Silgard und A. Wolff über; und die bisherigen Besitzer errichteten eine andre in größerem Maßstab in St. Louis.

dieses als Arzt, nachdem er 8 Monate zu einer naturhistorischen Reise nach dem Südwesten der Union verwandt hatte.

Hatte auf diese Art die Niederlassung einigen Abbruch erlitten, so waren dafür die beiden G. v. Garthausen eingetreten, und sie vermehrte sich ferner in diesem Jahre durch die Ankunft der Familie Hildebrand aus Stuttgart, welche sich an der Ridge Prairie, und die des Herrn E. Köhler, der sich neben seinem Bruder ankaufte, so wie durch die Ansiedlung von Herrn Decker neben seinem Schwiegervater Engelmänn.

Die Familie von Herrn Th. Hilgard aus Zweibrücken kam im Beginn des nächsten Jahres hier an, kaufte aber nicht unmittelbar in der Nähe, sondern dicht vor Belleville Land; einer ihrer Begleiter, Herr F. Hilgard aus Speier, kaufte 1837 eine kleine Pflanzung neben Dr. Neuf und bald darauf mit den Herren Cunradi und Heimberger einiges Land mit einer Sägemühle und einem Kaufladen in dem eben angelegten Städtchen Mechanicsburg, gerade außerhalb der südöstlichen Ecke unserer Karte, anderthalb Meilen vom Silvercreek an der Straße nach Shawneetown gelegen. Um dieselbe Zeit kaufte sich, als die letzten deutschen Ankömmlinge, die Familie Raith aus Göppingen hier an.

Die Niederlassung, so weit sie in den Grenzen unserer Karte eingeschlossen ist, also auf einem Raum von 36 engl. Quadratmeilen, besteht aus 70—80 Gehöften, die von 400 bis 500 Menschen bewohnt werden, eine starke Bevölkerung für diese westlichen Gegenden, die indessen in einigen andern Theilen des Staates übertroffen wird. Von der ganzen Anzahl sind etwa 30 Gehöfte in den Händen von Deutschen, und haben etwas über 160 Bewohner.

Unter den amerikanischen Besitzungen zeichnen sich durch Ausdehnung, guten Boden, guten Anbau und gute Gebäude namentlich die von Pearce, W. Alexander, W. Middlecoff, Hughes, Gay, S. und E. Mitchell, Will, und Sam. Scott und mehrere Moore's aus. Die deutschen Niederlassungen haben vorläufig bessere Wohngebäude, indem es die Ankömmlinge beim Ankauf von Ländereien als eines der wichtigsten Erfordernisse ansahen, gute Wohnungen zu erhalten, oder alsbald solche errichteten; denn mit Recht glaubten sie sich in guten Häusern sicherer vor Krankheiten, und enthoben einer Menge von Unannehmlichkeiten und kleinen Leiden,

welche häufig so sehr dazu beitragen, dem Ansiedler die ersten Jahre zu verbittern. Die besten Häuser findet man auf den Besitzungen der Herren Schott, Neuß, Hilgard, Bunsen, Ledergerber, Engelmann und Decker. Es sind alle zweistöckige oder s. g. andert-halbstöckige Gebäude, entweder von der Art, die man hier Frame-house¹ nennt, oder nach deutscher Art von Fachwerk aufgeführt, das mit Backsteinen ausgemauert oder mit Holz und Strohlehm ausgefüllt wird. Fast alle Häuser haben unten und einige auch eine Treppe hoch Gallerien, meist nach der Südseite, zuweilen auch nach andern Seiten hin.

Das beste Ackerland haben alle die Besitzungen, welche in der Prärie liegen, oder sich aus dem Waldrande hinein erstrecken; geeigneter aber für Obstgärten und wohl auch namentlich für Nebenanlagen sind nicht so wohl wegen der größeren Wärme als wegen des besseren Schutzes vor Spätfrösten und wegen des weniger üppigen Bodens die etwas höhern nach Süden abhängigen Striche. Die besten Apfelsgärten finden sich auf den Ländereien der Herren Köhler, Merkel und Ledergerber; der von H. Engelmann zeichnet sich durch sein frühes Obst aus.

Die Größe der deutschen Besitzungen ist natürlich sehr verschieden, und wenn eine nur 30, einige andere nur 40 Acker Landes enthalten, so gibt es andere, welche über 300 Acker groß sind, und einige Amerikaner hier herum haben 800 bis 1000 Acker Land. Nicht leicht findet sich eine Pflanzung, wo nicht 20 Acker urbar gemacht wären; 30 bis 60 ist die gewöhnliche Zahl, und so viel als ein Amerikaner mit der Hilfe seiner Familie leicht bestellen kann; andere haben auch über 100 Acker in Kultur.

Der Preis des Landes wird gewöhnlich nach der Größe desselben angegeben: so und so viel für den Acker; daß er aber da, wo die Kultur etwas vorangeschritten, nicht nur nach der Lage und Beschaffenheit des Landes, sondern ebenso nach den Anlagen, die darauf gemacht sind, wechseln müsse, ist begreiflich; nur von

¹ Diese Bauart ist so viel ich weiß Amerika eigenthümlich; ein leichtes Balkengerüst wird von Außen, wie das auch bei den andern Arten von Häusern überall hier der Fall ist, mit Wetterborden beschlagen; inwendig werden die Seitenwände und die Decke mit dünnen, etwa fingerbreit von einander stehenden Latten übernagelt und auf diese ein Ueberzug von Stalk angebracht, der geglättet und zuweilen beliebig angestrichen oder mit Tapeten bekleidet, öfter aber unverändert gelassen wird. Dieje wie die andern Arten von Häusern werden mit Schindeln gedeckt.

ungebautem Lande, oder da, wo die Anlagen den rohesten Anfang noch nicht überschreiten, kann diese Art der Preisangabe einen richtigen Begriff vom Werth des Landes geben. Schon 1833 wurden hier schön gelegene Besitzungen mit guten Gebäuden und größern Feldern für 10 \$. den Acker verkauft; andere kamen auf 6—8 \$., und wo das Haus weniger empfehlungswerth und das Land nicht ausgezeichnet war, bezahlte man 5 \$. Seitdem sind aber die Preise beständig gestiegen, und wenn auch in diesem Augenblicke bei eingetretener Geldflenne notwendige Verkäufe weniger einbringen dürften als vor einem halben Jahre, so ist dennoch der Werth des Landes eher im Steigen. Ländereien, die vor 4 Jahren zu 600 \$. ausboten wurden, sollen jetzt 1000 \$. kosten, und ist dies Steigen von 16 Procent auch nicht das gewöhnliche, so darf man doch die Hälfte, 8 Procent, jährlich für sicher annehmen.

Das Leben in dieser Niederlassung wird zwar sehr wenig durch den Einfluß der amerikanischen Umgebung modificirt, denn in Sprache und Sitten verschieden isoliren sich die Deutschen vielleicht zu sehr von den frühern Bewohnern, und leben zu abgeschieden von ihnen bloß unter einander. Erst der folgenden Generation, der beide Sprachen geläufig sein werden, die in den Sitten der Eltern erzogen auch denen des vorwaltenden englischen nicht fremd bleibt, wird es gegeben sein, ganz als Einheimische zu erscheinen und zu wirken; bisher leben die Eingewanderten fast bloß für sich und für einander. Nichts desto weniger scheint es passend, einige Worte über die amerikanischen Nachbarn zu sagen. Als eine eben so auffallende als erfreuliche Thatsache muß es gelten, daß diese Gegend gleich von Anfang von fast durchgehends sehr achtungswerthen Männern besiedelt wurde, von denen noch Einzelne hier leben, und deren Familien sich zum Theil über das Land verbreitet haben. Den gewöhnlichen Anfang einer amerikanischen Niederlassung in den westlichen Wildnissen, wie man sie noch so häufig an den Grenzen von Missouri und durch ganz Arkansas findet, und wovon Texas das lebendigste Beispiel darbietet, hat man hier nicht gekannt. Menschen, denen es in der Nähe von Nachbarn nicht wohl war, weil Jagd und freie Weide zu sehr beschränkt wurden, ihre dürftige Hütte und das kleine Feld, das oft gar nie ihr Eigenthum war, verlassen; oder solche,

die von den Gesetzen civilisirter Gegenden gedrängt, nach den Grenzen der Cultur ihre Zuflucht nahmen: solche hat es hier kaum gegeben. Die hiesigen Bewohner gehören fast durchgängig zu denen zweiter oder dritter Stufe, wie sie gewöhnlich den Pionieren folgen, das Land eigenthümlich besitzen, und mit der Absicht da zu bleiben und sich eine Heimath zu schaffen, mit jedem Jahre die Cultur ihrer Besizungen erhöhen, und ihre Anlagen erweitern. Die Meisten von ihnen waren aus den südlicheren Staaten von Virginien bis Georgien, Manche auch aus Kentucky gekommen; und schon daraus mag man auf einen freieren, weniger engherzigen, weniger von Gewinnsucht befangenen Sinn bei ihnen schließen, als man ihn gewöhnlich bei den nördlichen Amerikanern findet. Von der Stellung, die manche unter ihnen in dem Vertrauen ihrer Landsleute einnehmen, zeugt der Umstand, daß die Familie Whiteside einen Senator, und die Moore's und Middlecoff's Volksvertreter in die Gesetzgebung des Staates geliefert haben, während Belleville schon mehrere Repräsentanten zum Congreß der Union gesandt hat. Alle sind sie tüchtige Landleute; einige davon treiben dabei Handwerke, besonders das Schmiedegeschäft; Pearce hat eine Mahlmühle und Branntweinbrennerei. Mit ihren deutschen Nachbarn stehen sie im freundschaftlichsten Verhältnisse, aber in wenig Verkehr, haben aber, wie schon bemerkt, wohl einsehen lernen, daß Deutschland nicht bloß von Leuten bevölkert ist, deren Fleiß und Thätigkeit sie zwar alle Anerkennung zollen, deren Unbehülfslichkeit aber und Unwissenheit in Allem, was ihnen von der höchsten Wichtigkeit erscheint, sie keine hohe Meinung von ihren Fähigkeiten hatte fassen lassen. — Unter den Amerikanern, die sich hier durch wirkliche Zuneigung gegen die deutschen Ankömmlinge, zugleich durch unfassendere Ansichten in Politik und freiere Gesinnung in Kirchenfachen auszeichnen, muß ich vor Allen Robert Hughes nennen. In letzterem Punkte zeichnet sich auch die Familie Moore aus, während andere, z. B. die viel verbreiteten Scott's, starre Anhänger des Methodistenthums sind.

Ueber das Leben der deutschen Bewohner habe ich schon Eini-
ges gesagt. Es läßt sich denken, daß sie im Anfang Alle außer-
ordentlich viel mit sich selbst und ihrer ersten Einrichtung zu thun
hatten; sie waren in einen neuen Kreis geworfen, in dem sie sich

fast Alles erst schaffen mußten, selbst wenn sie Besitzungen gekauft hatten, die für die genügsamen Bedürfnisse der früheren Bewohner sehr wohl eingerichtet waren. Da waren Häuser zu bauen und zu verbessern, oder einzurichten und zu verschönern, Keller und Brunnen zu graben und Backöfen aufzurichten; dann mußten Gärten in Ordnung gebracht werden, man begnügte sich nicht mit Gemüse, man wollte auch Blumenbeete haben, legte Lauben an oder Rasenplätze; oder man hatte Stallungen aufzuschlagen oder in Stand zu setzen, oder vielleicht verfallene Umzäunungen herzustellen, alte zu versetzen und neue zu errichten; man suchte alles bequemer und netter zu machen, um sich behaglicher fühlen zu können und versäumte nicht selten, im Bestreben Alles zu thun, das Wesentlichste, den Feldbau und die Viehzucht; ohne dies hatten sich die Allerm wenigsten früher je damit befaßt, oder wenn auch, so kannten sie doch nicht die hiesige Weise und erreichten mit viel Aufwand von Zeit, Kräften und Mitteln nicht das, was viel einfacher und leichter die amerikanischen Nachbarn erzielten. Oft habe ich diese ihre Vermunderung aussprechen hören, daß die Deutschen, welche sie in Pennsylvanien als die trefflichsten Ackerbauer hatten kennen lernen, hier solche „poor farmers“, unbedeutende Landwirthe wären. Es erneuerte sich al bald die Frage, welche in Deutschland nach dem, was man dort hatte erfahren können, als schon längst entschieden angesehen worden war: „ob der deutsche Ansiedler hier als Landmann bestehen könne, oder ob sein angelegtes Kapital zum wenigsten die landesüblichen Zinsen trage“. Die Beantwortung dieser Frage ist von der größten Wichtigkeit für auswandernde Deutsche, von ihr hängt das Wohl vieler Familien ab; es sei mir daher erlaubt, mich etwas näher darauf einzulassen; indessen bemerke ich zum Voraus, daß ich noch keine 5 Jahre in Amerika bin, noch keine 5 Jahre das Beginnen und Streben meiner Landsleute beobachtet habe, und zur Ueberzeugung gekommen bin, daß diese Zeit noch nicht hinreichend war, die Frage völlig zu lösen. Die Beantwortung muß sich auf so viele Vordersätze stützen, daß es äußerst schwer ist, genügend zu entscheiden; dringend bitte ich darum Solche meiner Landsleute, deren Erfahrungen sie zu einem Urtheil berechtigen, ihre Ansichten mit Besonnenheit und Partheilosigkeit (in einer Sache, wo Partheilosigkeit so sehr schwer, aber so sehr wichtig ist) mitzutheilen.

Es ist eine Thatsache, daß der arbeitsame amerikanische Landwirth nicht nur wohl besteht, sondern auch voran kommt und sich oft ziemlich rasch Vermögen erwirbt. Eine eben so sichere Thatsache ist es, daß der deutsche Bauer nach ein Paar schweren Jahren seine Schulden bezahlt, sein Land, das er vielleicht gepachtet hatte, oder das noch Congreßeigenthum war, ankauft, und wohl gedeiht. Aber eben so gewiß est es, daß wenigstens in den ersten Jahren die meisten deutschen Ansiedler aus den gebildeten Ständen beim Landbau zusehen mußten.

Die Ursache ist die: die Amerikaner leben sehr einfach, haben nicht so viel zu kaufen, bezahlen wenig Arbeitslohn, verrichten alle oder fast alle ihre Feldarbeit selbst, verstehen ihre Arbeit wohl, und überdies treiben sie sehr häufig einträgliche Nebengeschäfte, haben eine kleine Mühle, treiben ein Handwerk, halten Hengste, thun Fahren und arbeiten sonst gelegentlich für Andere; und insgemein handeln sie, kaufen und verkaufen Pferde u. s. w. und verdienen damit Geld. Der deutsche Bauer ist rastlos thätig, lernt, bekannt mit dem Feldbau im Allgemeinen, sich bald in die hier als die beste erprobte Weise finden, quält sich mit Frau und Kindern um seine Erndte, lebt dabei, wenn auch viel besser als er es in Deutschland gewohnt war, spärlich, bringt alle seine Produkte, auch scheinbar noch so unbedeutende, zu Markt, und behält für sich fast nur das, was er nicht verkaufen kann; und erhält er seine Gesundheit nur einigermaßen, so sammeln sich bald Schnupftücher voll Dollars und Taschentücher voll Banknoten (obwohl er diese im Allgemeinen mit großem Mißtrauen ansieht), welche zu Ankauf von Land, Anschaffung von mehr Vieh, Wagen u. s. w. gewinnreich verwandt werden, und seltener nur der Frau ein neues Kleid, der Tochter einen neuen Hut verschaffen, oder sonst zur Vermehrung von Lebensbequemlichkeiten dienen, die sie kaum kennen, die ihnen wenig werth sind. Nach und nach nimmt allerdings eine gewisse Art von Luxus bei ihnen zu, zugleich aber auch die Mittel dazu in noch größerem Verhältnisse.

Der gebildete Deutsche dagegen hat weniger Hände zur Arbeit, und weniger Kenntniß davon; er hat dagegen oft eine große Familie zu ernähren, die ihm nicht so unmittelbar behülflich sein kann; darum sind seine Erndten im Anfang meist geringer; dagegen bedarf er viel mehr Geld sowohl als Arbeitskräfte; denn

ein Leben wie es jenen Beiden keine Aufopferung kostet, ist für ihn, für seine Familie wenigstens, fast unerträglich; daher muß Wohnung und Garten in guten Stand gesetzt werden, wie ich schon oben bemerkt; viel Geld wird in den Hausrath gesteckt; die Lebensmittel, welche seine Wirthschaft liefert, sind nicht hinreichend, andere müssen dazu gekauft werden; die europäischen Kleider sind bald ausgetragen, und nun sind neue ein theurer Artikel, selbst wenn sie im Hause gemacht werden und nur die Zeugnisse dazu aus dem Laden kommen, anzuschaffen; auch hierin kann er sich nicht so behelfen, wie seine Nachbarn, sondern trägt sich besser. Die Einnahmen sind gering; denn außerdem daß er weniger zieht als der deutsche Bauer oder amerikanische Farmer, behält er das Beste für sich, was ich freilich nicht tadeln will, und verkauft nur gerade das, was ihm überflüssig ist. So geht es freilich nicht Allen, aber im Allgemeinen ist das das Bild, was sich bei den gebildeten deutschen Landleuten hier zeigt.

Suchen wir nun diese Verhältnisse so viel als möglich in Zahlen darzustellen; dabei muß ich nur zum Voraus bemerken, daß sich wohl berechnen läßt, wie viel Einkommen kann, aber nicht wie viel eine Familie braucht; das ist nach tausend Ursachen so verschieden, daß ich gar keinen Anschlag zu machen wage; nur so viel muß ich zufügen, daß es Unrecht wäre in den Kostenanschlag das aufzunehmen, was für einmalige Einrichtungen, Hausbau und dergl. ausgegeben wird; in einer richtigen Uebersicht dürfen nur die laufenden, jährlich sich wiederholenden Ausgaben aufgeführt werden; erstere gehören zu dem Anlagekapital. Die Frage stellt sich nun, ob die Zinsen, welche dies Kapital, auf andere Weise hier angelegt, tragen würde, nicht den Betrag übersteigen, welchen der Ansiedler in Naturalien oder Geld aus seinem Landbau zieht; es kommt dann freilich immer wieder auf die Größe des Kapitals und die Bedürfnisse des Besitzers an, ob diese Zinsen, sie mögen nun hoch oder niedrig ausfallen, für die Bestreitung seiner Bedürfnisse hinreichen, oder sie gar noch übersteigen; es kommt ferner auf die Neigung des Besitzers an, ob ihm Landleben an und für sich, und seine Thätigkeit so viel werth sind, daß er auch mit geringeren Zinsen, sobald sie seinen Bedürfnissen genügen, zufrieden ist; endlich muß noch in Anschlag gebracht werden, daß der Werth des Landes selbst unabänderlich, obwohl in

verschiedenen Graden, bald schneller bald langsamer steigt, und auf diese Art jährliche Zinsen anwachsen, welche freilich nicht augenblicklich disponibel sind, aber dafür den Kapitalwerth erhöhen. Darüber nachher.

Untersuchen wir nun den Ertrag des Landes im Verhältniß zu seinem Preis. Die hier gewöhnliche Art zu verpachten gibt uns da die besten Schätzungsmittel an die Hand; man verpachtet nämlich das urbare Land gegen die Hälfte des Ertrages, hat dann aber Vieh und Geschirr zu liefern; oder gegen ein Drittheil, wo der Pächter bloß das urbare Land erhält (und allenfalls ein Häuschen, das nicht in Anschlag gebracht wird). Diese letzte Verpachtungsweise gibt eine einfachere Rechnung und auf sie wollen wir uns stützen. Das Drittheil ist aber nach der Größe des ganzen Ertrages, also nach der Geschicklichkeit und Thätigkeit des Pächters, der Güte des Landes, der Witterung u. s. w. verschieden, man setzt daher häufig ein Mittel fest, und dies ist gewöhnlich 10 oder 12 Buschel Mais für den Acker Land, der Pächter mag nun bauen was er will; diese sind jetzt an Ort und Stelle \$.2½ bis 3 werth, galten früher weniger, und werden wohl noch mehr steigen; verpachtet man aber für Geld, so erhält man gewöhnlich nicht mehr als \$ 2 für den Acker Landes. Nehmen wir \$.2½ für den Durchschnittspreis an (der Werth des Landes und die Möglichkeit mehr daraus zu ziehen steigt hier beständig, und überdem geben jetzt Weizen, Gerste und zumal Kartoffeln einen viel reicheren Ertrag, in Geld angeschlagen), so trägt ein Feld von 80 Ackern \$.200 jährlichen Pacht in Naturalien. Hat man ein solches Stück Prärieland und eben so viel Waldland vom Congreß gekauft, und ersteres einzäunen, urbar machen und mit einem Häuschen versehen lassen, so kann man für die verwandte Summe, die sich auf \$.800 oder höchstens 1000 belaufen wird, 20 bis 25 Procente jährlich ziehen. Die Sache verhält sich aber gewöhnlich ganz anders, denn eine Besizung von 160 Ackern mit einem guten Wohnhause, Garten u. s. w., wo ein deutscher Ankömmling keine weitere Auslagen für Bauten zu machen hätte, hat hier gewöhnlich nur 30 bis 60 Acker urbares Land, wurde früher mit \$.1200 bis 1500 bezahlt, und würde jetzt hier herum \$.2000 bis 2500 kosten. Geht der Besizer hat nun ein kleines Stück Land, Garten, Obstgarten und Feld für Gemüse und Kartoffeln für sich behalten, und

es bleiben ihm zum Verpachten 30 Acker übrig, so tragen ihm diese, je nachdem der Preis seines Landes war, 5—6 oder 3—4 Procente; freilich wohnt er dann noch dabei auf seinem Land und hat den Genuß des eben angegebenen Gartens u. s. w. und sein Feuerholz; alles dies zusammen wird wieder \$.200 jährlich werth sein, so daß sich die Zinsen demnach auf 18—23 oder 11—14 Procente belaufen würden, wovon aber, ich wiederhole es, nur der kleinste Theil bar, oder in verkäuflichen Naturalien einkömmt. Rechnet man noch das beständige Steigen des Landwerthes hinzu, welches außergewöhnliche günstige oder ungünstige Einwirkungen abgerechnet in der dortigen Gegend jährlich 6—8 Procente betragen mag, und in der letzten Zeit viel bedeutender war, so ergibt sich endlich, daß kein Kapital sicherer und vortheilhafter angelegt werden kann, als in Land, am besten in rohem Land, das man von den Staaten kauft, aber auch selbst dann, wenn man hohe Preise für schon angebautes Land bezahlt. Daß man die Zinsen immer höher steigern kann, je mehr Land man urbar machen läßt, und verpachtet, versteht sich von selbst.

Anders scheint mir, stellt sich das Resultat heraus, wenn man fragt, ob gebildete deutsche Familien allein vom Landbau leben können. Die Erfahrung scheint dagegen zu sprechen, denn wir haben gesehen, daß eine große Anzahl derselben sich zu städtischen Geschäften gewandt hat, und daß der Zug der deutschen Einwanderung, der sich früher fast ganz dem Lande zugewendet, jetzt fast in gleichem Verhältnisse nach den Städten geht.

Setzen wir dem oben angegebenen Fall einen recht günstigen noch dazu; daß eine Familie nach Abzug aller Reisekosten mit einem Vermögen von 4000 Gulden oder \$.1600 hier ankam; sie kauften eine Pflanzung von 160 Acker, wo sie ein wohl eingerichtetes Haus, Garten und Obstgarten fanden, 40 Acker waren urbar; Pferde und sonstiges Vieh waren in den Kauf einbegriffen. Für alles das hatten sie nur \$.1200 bezahlt, so bleiben ihnen vom Ankaufspreis \$.400 übrig. Von ihrem Lande verpachten sie 30 Acker und erhalten dafür 360 Buschel Mais, \$.75 werth; von dem Mais brauchen sie einen großen Theil wieder, um ihre Pferde, Kühe und Schweine zu füttern, und wenn ihnen selbst die Hälfte übrig bleibt, und sie die Zinsen von den noch nicht verwandten \$.400 dazuschlagen und sie selbst noch etwas aus dem überflüssi-

gen Ertrag des Obstgartens lösen: — können sie davon leben? Vielleicht geht es, wenn sie sich einschränken, und keine neuen Anschaffungen zu machen oder theure Rechnungen des Arztes zu bezahlen haben; sollte dies aber der Fall sein, oder sonstiges Mißgeschick eintreten, wie es den neuen Ankömmling so oft trifft, Pferde weglaufen, Vieh umkommen u. s. w., so wird der Kapitalrest bald angegriffen werden, und die Familie kann, obwohl sie so viel Zinsen zieht, und ihr Land vielleicht 10 und mehr Procente steigen mag, in die drückendsten Verhältnisse kommen. Gesezt aber sie begnügen sich nicht mit dem gewissen Ertrag von 360 Bushel Mais, und wollen selbst mehr gewinnen, so arbeiten sie selbst, mühen sich ab, und bringen am Ende doch, nachdem sie oft noch Zugvieh, Geschirr und dergl. dazu kaufen, vielleicht noch Arbeiter bezahlen mußten, nicht mehr heraus; denn da sind hundert kleine Ursachen, die jeder, der hier gelebt hat, erfahren mußte, die es aber hier zu weitläufig ist, zu entwickeln, warum der Gentleman-Farmer hier in den ersten Jahren keine volle Erndte zu Stande bringen kann; und da verlasse Keiner meinen Skepticismus, ehe er selbst gegen alle die kleinen Misereen angekämpft und sie ehe zwei Jahre vergangen, mit Glück überwunden hat. Darum zeigt es sich wohl immer als das Beste, den größern Theil des Landes zu verpachten. — Viel günstiger steht sich der, welcher eine größere Besizung gekauft hat und viel urbares Land verpachten kann; er zieht daraus so viel an Geld oder Geldeswerth, daß er mit seiner Familie gut davon leben kann. Wer wenigstens 60 bis 100 Acker in Cultur hat, thut vielleicht noch besser, sein Land unter eigener Aufsicht durch monatsweise oder tagweise gemiethete Arbeiter bebauen zu lassen, wenn er nur immer sicher sein könnte, Arbeiter zu mäßigen Preisen haben zu können. Für Alle indessen, sie mögen große oder kleine Pflanzungen, oder bloß rohes Land besizzen, wird zuletzt dies Eigenthum, wie gezeigt worden, sehr gewinnbringend. Wie viel Land aber jemand verpachten müsse, um von diesem Ertrage gut leben zu können, kommt wie gesagt zu sehr auf Umstände und Bedürfnisse an, als daß sich auch nur eine annähernde Bestimmung machen ließe.

Es ist hier nicht meine Absicht, Orakel für Auswanderer zu geben, sondern ich wünsche Zustände darzustellen, die sich meiner Beobachtung dargeboten haben; die Lehren daraus mag sich jeder

nach seiner Individualität und seinen Verhältnissen selbst ziehen; dennoch weiß ich wohl, daß die Meisten, welche herüber wandern werden, einen Theil wenigstens von diesen Erfahrungen dennoch an sich selbst werden wiederholen müssen. In dem obigen Beispiel blieben \$.400 baares Geld übrig, was ausgeliehen oder sonst verwandt werden konnte; öfter behält man weniger übrig, indem Reisekosten und viele kleine Ausgaben die vorläufigen Anschläge bei Weitem übersteigen; ja es traten Fälle ein, wo für die Abtragung eines Theiles des Kauffchillings auf Zuschüsse aus der Heimath oder, was schlimmer ist, auf den Ertrag des Landes gewartet wurde.

Bisher habe ich über den Felddbau allein geredet; dabei hat sich dem Leser schon die Frage aufgedrängt, ob der gebildete Deutsche bloß wenn er reich ist, und eine ausgedehnte Besitzung kaufen konnte, angenehm und sorgenfrei auf dem Lande leben kann; ob es keine anderen Wege gibt, um auf dem Lande auch bei geringeren Mitteln noch außer dem Felddbau den Unterhalt zu gewinnen; und was denn der, welcher sein Land verpachtet hat, mit seiner Zeit anfängt. Auf alle diese Fragen kann ich nun auf einmal antworten. Wir haben die Erfahrung, daß der gebildete Deutsche auch mit geringern Mitteln, nachdem er einige schwere Probejahre überstanden, sein Einkommen wenigstens bis zu dem Grade zu steigern gelernt hat, daß es zur Vestrerung der Bedürfnisse seiner Familie hinreicht. Sezen wir immer den Fall, daß er sein Feld, oder einen großen Theil davon verpachtet hat, so bleiben ihm Zeit und Kräfte zu andern Beschäftigungen: diese bestehen dann theils in Vermehrung der Producte seines Landes, indem er einträglichere Gewächse baut, als Getreide; namentlich glaube ich, daß Wiesenbau, Hanf und Tabak sich besonders vortheilhaft zeigen werden, obwohl wenigstens mit den beiden letzten Erzeugnissen noch keine Erfahrungen in der Gegend, von der ich rede, angestellt worden sind. Oder er erweitert seinen Obstgarten, wo ihm ohne große Mühe jeder tragende Apfelbaum einen bis zwei Dollar einbringen muß, selbst wenn er einen bedeutenden Theil der Frucht selbst verbraucht. Macht er aus den Äpfeln Cider, so bereitet er sich ein gesundes Getränk für den nächsten Sommer und kann den Erlös seines Obstgartens noch erhöhen; doch muß für den Verkauf der Äpfelwein auf eine besondere Art

gemacht sein, daß er nicht ausgärt und seine Süßigkeit behält; so wird er hier am liebsten getrunken. Außer den Äpfeln mag er andere Obstsorten und Weintrauben ziehen, welche ihm noch mehr eintragen werden, wenn es auch nicht wahrscheinlich sein sollte, daß letztere hier mit Vortheil zu Wein benützt werden können.

Ein anderer Weg, und zwar ein noch einträglicherer ist der, seine oder seiner Pächter Vnderzeugnisse selbst zu Mehl, Stärke oder Brantwein zu verarbeiten, oder Vieh zum Verkauf damit zu mästen. Im letzten Fall erscheint es wohl als das Vortheilhafteste, Schweine zu ziehen, und fett zu machen; sie vermehren sich schnell, können den größten Theil des Jahres ohne Futter im Walde erhalten, und sind dann im Winter bald zum Verkauf gut. Daß man Pferde oder Rindvieh hier zum Verkauf zöge, ist mir unbekannt; meist zieht man sie nur für eignen Gebrauch; schlachtet was man nöthig hat, und verkauft gelegentlich Ueberflüssiges. Viehmast betreibt jeder mit seinen eigenen Erzeugnissen; wer aber Mehl, Stärke oder Brantwein fabriciren will, muß das Geschäft viel weiter ausdehnen. Der Amerikaner Pearce hat hier eine von Ochsen (die auf einer beweglichen schiefen Fläche gehen) getriebene Mühle und eine Brennerei, und ist durch beide einer der wohlhabendsten Männer in der Gegend geworden. Herr Bunsen legt jetzt eine ähnliche Mühle an. Das gewöhnliche Verfahren auf diesen kleinen Mühlen ist das, daß der Besitzer nur wenig Mehl zum Verkauf fabricirt, sondern meist das von den Nachbarn gebrachte Getreide gegen einen gewissen Antheil (ein Fünftel oder Viertel) mahlt: blos die großen Dampf-mühlen kaufen Getreide, und versenden Mehl, werden daher merchant-mills, Handelsmühlen, genannt. Eine Brennerei ist von Herrn Busch errichtet und dann an Herrn von Saxthausen abgetreten, und von diesem vervollkommenet worden. Ueber ihren Erfolg läßt sich noch nichts sagen; eben so wenig noch ist die von Herrn Engelmann errichtete Stärkesabrik oder die von Herrn Decker und Scheurer angelegte Seifen- und Richterfabrik in vollem Gange.

Seine Geschicklichkeit und Kenntnisse kann übrigens neben seinem Landbau der Handwerker oder der Arzt recht wohl geltend machen, und sichert sich dadurch gewöhnlich eine sehr gute Existenz; wo ihm dann, je nachdem er beschäftigt ist, der Landbau oft nur

Nebensache sein mag. Die letzte, und vielleicht einträglichste und leichteste, wenn auch zuweilen gefährliche Art, seinen Unterhalt zu erwerben, und selbst Vermögen zu sammeln, ist der Handel; nicht selten findet man, daß Deutsche auf dem Lande sich damit befassen; in unserer Niederlassung hat indessen noch niemand regelmäßig diesen Erwerbszweig ergriffen; in Belleville hat indessen Hr. Th. Krafft und in Mechaniksburg Hr. A. Cunrabi eine Handlung in Gesellschaft mit Andern, welche beide sehr gewinnbringend sein sollen.

Der Verkauf von Erzeugnissen, welche man nicht selbst verbraucht, geschieht häufig an Ort und Stelle, besonders werden Mais und Schweine oder was man sonst gelegentlich von Vieh zu verkaufen hat, so abgesetzt; oder sie werden nach Belleville geführt, wohin man namentlich Weizen bringt, oder nach St. Louis, wo der beste Markt jeder Art ist, und man viel höhere Preise als im Lande erhält, das aber auch oft durch die schlechten Wege ganz abgeschnitten ist.¹ Man führt dahin gewöhnlich Gerste, Hafer, auch Schweine, seltener Mais oder Weizen, und besonders Äpfel, Pflirsche und zuweilen Gartenprodukte.

Nach dieser Abschweifung über die äußere Lage der deutschen Ansiedler und die Möglichkeit einer ihren früheren Verhältnissen entsprechenden Existenz, habe ich von dem häuslichen und geselligen Leben unter ihnen zu sprechen. Im Hause haben die meisten ihre früher gewohnte Lebensweise beizubehalten gesucht, so fern sie mit den neuen Verhältnissen verträglich war. In vielen Familien trifft man selbst Diensthoten, doch gelang es nicht Allen, dieselben, besonders die männlichen Arbeiter, ganz nach Wunsch zu haben, und zumal für längere Zeit zu behalten. Der Lohn für diese ist jetzt gewöhnlich 10—12 und für die weiblichen Diensthoten 5—7 Dollar den Monat. Gewöhnlich werden sie als mit zur Familie gehörig betrachtet, essen mit am Tische, und werden überhaupt viel rücksichtsvoller behandelt, als man es in Deutsch-

¹ Die Legislatur von Illinois hat ein Anleihen von 8 Millionen Dollar zu machen verordnet zum Bauen von Straßen und Canälen. Ein Theil davon wird zu einer chaussirten Straße verwandt, welche von St. Louis nach Belleville und nach dem Wabash führen soll; in diesem Augenblick wird sie ausgestellt. Eine Privatgesellschaft ist ferner damit beschäftigt, eine Eisenbahn von St. Louis nach Belleville zu bauen. Diese beiden Verbindungen werden sehr viel zum Emporblühen von Belleville und der ganzen Umgegend beitragen.

Land findet. Meistens habe ich sie nichts desto weniger bescheiden gefunden, und hier selten Klagen gehört, wie man sie anderswo nicht selten über die unerträgliche Anmaßung solcher aus ihren früheren Verhältnissen erhobenen Leute vornimmt.

Die Männer haben mit ihren Geschäften, seien sie, welche sie wollen, recht viel zu thun, im Feld oder im Wald oder in der Werkstätte thätig, enteilt ihnen der Tag schnell; manchem bleibt gelegentlich etwas Zeit zur Jagd übrig und Sonntags sieht man oft größere Gesellschaften zu diesem Zwecke Prärie oder Wald durchstreifen. Die Geschäfte bringen auch häufig Besuche bei Nachbarn mit sich, und zu Pferde legt man die Entfernungen zwischen den einzelnen Pflanzungen, die höchstens 4—5, meist nur 2—3 Meilen betragen, rasch zurück; so verbringen auch nicht selten die, welche nicht selbst Familien haben, einige Abendstunden bei benachbarten Freunden, und reiten im glänzenden Mondschine oder dem hellen Sternenlichte nach Hause; sollte das Wetter aber zu ungestüm geworden sein, so findet sich überall auch ein Bett für den Gast, oder wenn deren Viele sind, wenigstens ein Strohsack oder ein Büffelfell.

Weniger leicht können sich die Frauen bewegen; obwohl Viele unserer Landsmänninnen recht bald eben so geschickte als kühne Reiterinnen geworden sind, so werden sie doch durch die häusliche Thätigkeit und durch ihre Familie immer mehr ans Haus gefesselt; noch ist es nicht bei ihnen eingeführt, die Kinder hinter sich und vor sich aufs Pferd zu nehmen; und das Wägelchen, welches man bei den Meisten findet, einzuspannen, ist so weidläufig, daß dies gewöhnlich nur Sonntags geschieht, wenn man nicht selbst Besuch erhält oder erwartet.

Für die Kinder ist hier ein Paradies; wohl 8 Monate im Jahre leben sie fast ganz im Freien und wachsen naturgemäß auf, und gedeihen herrlich. Ihre Erziehung ist zunächst ganz auf das, was Mutter und Vater ihnen geben können beschränkt; wie das mit der Zeit werden wird, wenn das junge Volk heranwächst, und das Bedürfniß nach Unterricht sich vermehrt, muß sich zeigen.

Geistige Thätigkeit, durch Erziehung und Gewohnheit den Meisten ein Bedürfniß geworden, leidet allerdings etwas durch die vermehrten Geschäfte draußen und im Hause, indessen wird

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sie doch rege erhalten; auf beinahe allen Niederlassungen findet sich eine artige Bibliothek, die bei einigen Ansiedlern selbst bedeutend ist und wohl benutzt wird. Außerdem bildet eine Gesellschaftsbibliothek, auf Betrieb von Dr. Schott errichtet, einen geistigen Vereinigungspunkt; sie ist jetzt freilich noch nicht sehr umfassend, wird aber mit der Zeit wohl die achtungswerthe Grundlage größerer Anstalten bilden. Musik ist vielen eine angenehme Erholung, und bei 4 Familien, glaube ich, findet man Pianofortes.

Außer der sonstigen häufigen Verbindung, in der die Bewohner mit einander stehen, finden sich auch oft Gelegenheiten zu Zusammenkünften, behufs gemeinschaftlicher größerer Arbeiten und gegenseitiger Hülfsleistungen, z. B. beim Aufrichten von Gebäuden, oder zu kleinen Festen, der Einweihung eines neuen Hauses u. dgl., zu Hochzeiten und Kindtaufen oder dergl. Außerdem kommen ein- oder zweimal im Jahre, namentlich auf Pfingsten, alle deutschen Bewohner der Niederlassung im Freien zu einem Picknick zusammen, wobei sich gewöhnlich viele amerikanische Gäste aus der Umgegend und Deutsche aus Belleville und St. Louis einfinden.

In ihren bürgerlichen Verhältnissen fühlen sich die Ansiedler sehr zufrieden, und indem sie die besondere Wohlthat, die ihnen die Constitution von Illinois dadurch gewährt, daß sie schon nach halbjährigem Aufenthalt einen Jeden zum Bürgerrecht zuläßt, anerkennen, suchen sie ihre Pflichten gegen ihr neues Vaterland aufs gewissenhafteste zu erfüllen. Wenn sie schon bei den Militäzübungen eifriger sein könnten, wenn sie auch aus Grundsatz dem Beispiel der Deutschen in den östlichen Städten nicht folgen, und nichts von einer „deutschen“ Militaircompagnie wissen wollen, so fehlen sie doch nie bei den Wahlen, und das einsichtsvolle Urtheil von ihnen und ihren Freunden in Belleville, verbunden mit dem gesunden Sinne der zahlreichen deutschen Bevölkerung der weiten Umgegend, gibt bei den Wahlen für diesen und die benachbarten Bezirke nicht selten den Ausschlag.

Schließlich habe ich noch einige Worte über die Planfkarte zu sagen, welche zu diesem Aufsatze gehört. Ebenso, wie sie die Lage und Ansicht der hier behandelten Gegend, und die gegenseitige

Lage und Größe der deutschen und die Lage der amerikanischen Ansiedlungen darstellt, — ebenso gibt sie auch ein deutliches Bild der Landvermessung, wie sie von der Regierung ausgeht, und liefert dadurch eine werthvolle Erläuterung zu einer nächstens folgenden Abhandlung, welche sich speciell mit diesem Gegenstand befaßt. Auf diese verweise ich denn auch den Leser und beschränke mich hier auf wenige Bemerkungen.

Die Karte begreift eine Stadtschaft, Township, in sich, die, wie immer, ein Quadrat von 6 Meilen Länge und Breite bildet, und wieder in 36 kleinere Quadrate, jedes von einer Quadratmeile oder 640 Ader Landes, welche man Sectionen nennt, eingetheilt wird. Die Nummern der Sectionen laufen, wie auf der Karte angegeben, immer so, daß die in der nordöstlichen Ecke gelegene die erste, und die in der südöstlichen die 36ste ist. Die Sectionen werden von den Feldmessern in Viertelsectionen abgetheilt, und auf den Landämtern kann man auch halbe Viertel und unter Umständen selbst viertel Viertel, welche 80 und 40 Ader groß sind, kaufen. So besitzt z. B. J. Engelmann zwei Achtzig-Ader-Stücke und A. Baer hat zwei Vierzig-Ader-Stücke gekauft u. s. w. Andre Umgränzungen der deutschen Pflanzung, die man auf der Karte findet, haben durch Privatvertheilung ihre unregelmäßige Gestalt bekommen. Im westlichen Theil unserer Karte findet man indessen mehrere Landstrecken in schiefstliegenden Vierecken abgegränzt; diese stammen aus einer Zeit her, wo hier Land besessen wurde, ehe die Regierung der V. Staaten es verkaufte. Sie sind unter dem Namen der „Ansprüche, Claims,“ noch jetzt bekannt, obwohl das, was ehemals bloße Ansprüche gewesen sein mögen, meistens längst von dem Congreß bestätigt worden ist. Jetzt ist meines Wissens hier nur noch ein nasser Theil der 15. Section unverkauft; auch die 16. Section ist noch nicht in Privathände übergegangen; sie wird bekanntlich nach Congreßbestimmung zur Bildung eines Schulfonds zurückbehalten.

Es fällt auf, daß die Besitzungen vieler Deutschen aus mehreren Theilen bestehen, die von einander zuweilen bis zu drei und mehr Meilen getrennt liegen. Es ist dies ein Uebel, das man häufig in Präriegegenden findet. Prärieland zieht man durchgängig zum Feldbau vor, und Wald ist unumgänglich zum Betrieb desselben, Hausbau, Feuerung, etc. nothwendig; aber nur

ein Theil der Niederlassungen kann so ausgesucht werden, daß sie Prärie und Waldland vereinigen; eben so häufig findet man beide getrennt; so wohnt Hr. Th. Hilgard in der 29. Section und hat sein Waldland in der 32. und 33. Die Hrn. Sandherr, Gartenhausen, Busch und die Wittve Kölsch wohnen in Section 20 und 21 und haben ihren Wald (ein Theil liegt auch in der Nähe der Wohnungen) am Silvercreek in der 25. Section. Die Herren Schott und Neuß haben dagegen ihre Wohngebäude im Wald in der 4. Section, wobei etwas Feld für Garten, Obstgarten und Weide urbar gemacht ist; der größte Theil ihres Baulandes liegt aber in der Prärie in Section 10, wo man auch 2 Häuser, die von Pächtern bewohnt sind, bezeichnet findet. Die Mehrzahl der Ansiedlungen liegen indessen immer am Saume des Waldes, wie das die Karte namentlich in den Sectionen 9, 10, 11, 14 und 23. ebenso am südlichen Rande der Prärie u. a. a. O. angibt.



**Beleuchtung des Juden'schen Berichtes über
die westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas.¹**

Von Gustav Körner.

(Geschrieben im Jahre 1834.)

Unter all den vielen Schriften, die über Auswanderung aus Europa und Ansiedelung in den nordamerikanischen Freistaaten in Deutschland erschienen sind, hat wohl keine mehr und vorzugsweise mehr auf die gebildeten Stände gewirkt als „Juden's Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas.“ Wer sich nur um den allerdings nicht unwichtigen Punkt der Auswanderungen interessirte, suchte Belehrung oder Bestätigung seiner Ansichten in diesem Buche; vielen Familien war es tägliche Lectüre bevor der Ausführung ihres Entschlusses und eine unumstößliche Autorität geworden. Freunde und Begünstiger der Auswanderung haben viele tausend Abdrücke dieses Berichtes besorgen lassen, um auch für die weniger Bemittelten die Anschaffung zu erleichtern und ihnen über die zu erwartende Lage und Stellung hinreichenden Unterricht zu verschaffen.

Gewiß hat dieses Buch viele Vorzüge vor den meisten Berichten, Mittheilungen, Tagebüchern, die über den gleichen Gegenstand geschrieben worden sind, und die beinahe alle entweder der Speculation oder einer bittern Laune nach getäuschter Hoffnung ihr Entstehen verdanken. Eben so gewiß ist es aber auch, daß dieses Buch seinen Ruf vorzüglich dem günstigen Zeitpunkt, in dem es erschien, verdankt; gewiß ist es, daß die herrschende Sehnsucht nach Auswanderung auf günstige Aufnahme Einfluß gehabt hat, und daß wohl zu keiner Zeit der Boden geeigneter war, die hervorgebrachten Eindrücke in sich aufzunehmen und zu entwickeln. Je größer aber der Einfluß ist, den irgend eine Darstellung oder Mittheilung hervorbringt, je größer der Kreis, der

¹ Dieser Aufsatz ist hier nach Körners eigenem Handexemplar wiedergegeben, in daß er die von der deutschen Censur gestrichenen Stellen eingetragen hat. Die betreffenden Stellen sind als „Censurlücke“ bezeichnet.

den Worten oder Schriften irgend eines Erzählers lauscht, desto mehr ist es Pflicht, mit der größten Genauigkeit das Vorgebrachte zu untersuchen, desto strenger muß die Prüfung und Beurtheilung der Lehren und aufgestellten Ansichten ausfallen. Was sich dem denkenden Leser von selbst als das Produkt eines einseitigen entweder niedergedrückten oder durch seltenes Glück gehobenen Gemüthszustandes kund gibt, oder was offenbar nur als plumpe Anlockung zum Zwecke selbstsüchtigen Vortheils erscheint, das darf man ruhig dem Strome der Zeit überlassen, der es bald überspült haben wird. Wo man aber oft reife Urtheile, Resultate langer Erfahrungen, und tiefe Raisonnements findet, da hat man sich am meisten zu wahren, daß man nicht unbedingt traut, da muß am sorgfältigsten gewacht werden, daß nicht neben richtigen Bemerkungen Täuschungen der Phantasie und Irrthümer in der Beurtheilung als Wahrheit aufgenommen werden.

Nicht der Sucht zu verkleinern, nicht getäuschten Hoffnungen und Erwartungen dankt diese kurze Beleuchtung ihr Entstehen; noch weniger der Ansicht, daß die Auswanderungen überhaupt, sowohl ihrem Principe nach verwerflich, als auch in ihrer Ausführung besonders schwierig seyen. Es wäre wirklich ein Leichtes, die Auswanderungslustigen mit Schilderung von Unannehmlichkeiten und Gefahren abzuschrecken, und ohne etwas besseres an die Hand zu geben, rein negirend aufzutreten. Duden gesteht selbst, daß wenig hinreiche, sein ganzes Gemälde ins Dunkel zu setzen, daß es einfach sey, durch Auffuchung der Schattenseiten, zu einem ihm entgegengesetzten Resultate zu gelangen. Man darf nur Ereignisse aus ihrem Zusammenhange reißen, aus einzelnen Beobachtungen allgemein gültige Schlüsse ziehen, die Feder in Unmuth tauchen, und das grade Gegenbild von Dudens Schilderung kann erscheinen.

Nein, ich bin mit Duden einverstanden, daß Auswanderungen aus Europa nothwendig, und, wenn richtig geleitet, auch vortheilhaft sind, wenn ich auch gleich andere Ursachen und Entstehungsgründe dieses Auswanderungstriebes annehme. Ich habe zu meinem Zweck nur die Mittheilungen Dudens über die Lage und Stellung der anempfohlenen Länder zu prüfen, seine Darstellung des Lebens und Treibens zu würdigen, und seine Schlüsse auf die Vortheile und das Glück der neuen Ansiedler genau zu

untersuchen. Ich bin nicht entschieden anderer Ansicht wie Duden, aber dennoch kann ich vielen seiner Aussprüche nicht beistimmen, und muß seinen Bericht für eine zu glänzende und viel zu lebhaft gefärbte Schilderung jener Gegenden, und der Stellung halten, die der Einwanderer finden soll. Bei dieser Uebereinstimmung mit Duden in so wichtigen Punkten, sollte man wohl glauben, daß ich es nicht hätte für nöthig halten sollen, meinen Ansichten Oeffentlichkeit zu verleihen. Wer die Auswanderung in Menge billigt, grade dieselben Gegenden besonders zur neuen Ansiedlung für vortheilhaft hält, wie sollte der sich gedrungen fühlen, wegen vielleicht wenigen wesentlichen Punkten bekämpfend aufzutreten? Und doch halte ich es für meine Pflicht, das Duden'sche Gemälde der neu aufgeschlossenen westlichen Staaten etwas zu verdüstern, doch halte ich es für nothwendig, meine abweichende Ansichten mitzutheilen. Ich weiß es, wie sehr selbst Täuschungen in Neben- dingen des neuangekommenen Einwanderers schon mißmuthig und verstimmt machen können, ich weiß es, was es heißt, wenn neue Etablissements mit Unlust und Mißmuth unternommen werden. So mancher scheint nur als Opfer des ungewohnten Klima's hinzusterben, der doch vorzüglich wegen geistiger Niedergeschlagenheit, ja wahrer Melancholie den Anfällen der Krankheit nicht widerstehen konnte. Ich hörte die Klagen der neuen Ankömmlinge, ja oft ihre Verwünschungen, ihre Flüche. Eine kurze Zeit reicht zwar meistens hin, die Getäuschten wieder etwas aufzurichten, sie finden, daß man doch noch leidlich hier leben könne, wenn auch gleich das geträumte Paradies verloren ist. Aber warum sollte es nicht zur Aufgabe gemacht werden, die Gegenstände von ihrem Schein zu entkleiden, warum sollte es eine undankbare Mühe seyn, seinen Mitmenschen Täuschungen und Unannehmlichkeiten zu ersparen?

Duden unterläßt nicht, in Kürze seine wissenschaftliche Vorbereitungen zu seinem Aufenthalte, ferner den Standpunkt im Lande selbst, von welchem er beurtheilte, anzugeben, um damit seinen Lesern einen Maßstab für seine Auffassungsfähigkeit sowohl in geistiger als physischer Hinsicht vorzulegen. Ich glaube mich auch zu einer ähnlichen Mittheilung verpflichtet.

Es lag keineswegs früher in meiner Absicht, nach Amerika zu reisen, viel weniger die inneren Gegenden des Freistaates zu besuchen. Mehr Zufall als Wahl führte mich hierher. Doch war

mir im Ganzen die geographische und politische Beschaffenheit des Landes nicht fremd, und namentlich war ich durch Duden's Briefe auch mit den westlichen Gegenden etwas bekannter geworden. Reisen durch alle Gegenden Deutschlands und Frankreichs hatten mich früher gelehrt, Beobachtungen über die Verschiedenheit der Länderbildungen und des leiblichen und intellectuellen Zustandes der Bewohner anzustellen.

Die Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten selbst machte ich in Begleitung einer zahlreichen und gebildeten Familie und ebenso war ich Zeuge der neuen Einrichtung, wenn auch grade nicht neuen Ansiedlung, sowohl dieser als vieler befreundeten Familien. Nicht vom Hotel irgend einer größern Stadt, sondern von einer einfachen amerikanischen Hütte aus habe ich beobachtet, mitten unter neuen Einrichtungen und neuen Beschäftigungen. Obgleich Illinois, der Staat, der östlich den Missouristaat begrenzt, mein beständiger Aufenthalt war, habe ich doch viele Berichte über den Missouri gehört und endlich im Herbst des Jahres 1833 selbst eine Reise an die Ufer des Missouri gemacht, die Ansiedelungen beinahe aller gebildeten Deutschen dort besucht und endlich grade die Gegenden gesehen, die Duden den meisten Stoff zu seiner Mittheilung gegeben haben. Eben so wenig wie Duden ein Landwirth von Fach, habe ich es nicht unterlassen, mich bei allen Sachverständigen um landwirthschaftliche Gegenstände zu befragen, und überhaupt das Urtheil aller Ansiedler über die Gegenden, die sie bewohnen, ihre Lage und endlich über die Schilderung, die von beiden gemacht worden ist, einzuholen. Duden hat einen längeren Aufenthalt voraus, ich dagegen habe das Resultat seines Aufenthalts in Händen, und hatte, was ich noch höher anschlage, Gelegenheit, grade eine größere Familie bei ihrer Reise und ihrer ersten Einrichtung zu beobachten. Bei Allem diesen habe ich noch den Vortheil, persönlich nicht befangen zu seyn, indem ich mich nie anzusiedeln gedachte, deswegen selbst keine Täuschungen erlitten habe, im Gegentheil — da zu meiner Befriedigung nur eine politisch-glückliche und vernünftige Einrichtung des Staates hinreicht, und ein auf bürgerliche Freiheit und Gleichheit gebautes Regierungswesen, — meine Erwartungen bei weitem übertroffen worden sind.

Duden hat seinen Bericht hauptsächlich in Briefen geschrieben,

Abhandlungen über einzelne Gegenstände in einer streng wissenschaftlichen Form diesen Briefen nur angehängt. Es ist daher nicht ohne Schwierigkeit, wenn man nicht gerade der historischen Ordnung seiner Mittheilung folgen will, Betrachtungen an seine Darstellung anzuknüpfen. Doch will ich es versuchen, meiner Beurtheilung eine gewisse Ordnung nach den Hauptpunkten, worin Meinungsverschiedenheit herrscht, anzupassen.

Duden's Bericht hat die Eigenthümlichkeit, daß man ihm den Vorwurf nicht machen kann, als seien die Unannehmlichkeiten und Widerwärtigkeiten, die in irgend einer Hinsicht den Einwanderer treffen, wirklich gar nicht berührt. Wer das Buch ganz aufmerksam und prüfend liest, findet wohl überall leise Andeutungen. Der Eindruck des ganzen Buches läßt aber diese schlechteren Parthien nur gar zu leicht übersehen. Es liegt Vorzug und Nachtheil, beides in seinem gehörigen Maße, auf den Waagschalen, aber diese Waage selbst ist nicht ganz richtig und die Zunge schnellst zu bedeutend auf die Seite der Vortheile. Es ist dies keine Absicht, nichts liegt Duden wohl ferner als absichtliche Entstellung; ohne daß er es weiß, läßt ihn seine Liebe zu dem neuen Boden, vorzüglich zu der Gegend, die er gewählt hat, Alles in einem reizenderen Lichte erscheinen. Er, der Einzelne, durch seine frühere Beschäftigung mit den Wissenschaften schon fähig, sich für eine Zeit mit Nutzen zu isoliren und für sich allein zu leben, durch keine Rücksicht und Noth eingeengt oder bedrängt, immer in der Lage, sich jeden möglichen Genuß zu verschaffen, stets im Stande, die härteren und unangenehmeren Beschäftigungen durch Andere verrichten zu lassen, er konnte nicht ganz unbefangen urtheilen, er mußte zu einer Ansicht gelangen, die der Wirklichkeit nicht ganz gleich kam. Seine gute Stimmung verschönerte Alles um ihn herum, und wo Andere kaum einen leidlichen Aufenthalt sahen, erblickte er Gärten und reizende Parthieen. Keiner, der Duden's Bericht gelesen hat, bekommt daraus eine ganz richtige Vorstellung von dem Aussehen und der Beschaffenheit des Landes, das er künftig bewohnen, und in dem er seine Wünsche und Hoffnungen niederlegen will. Ich will es versuchen, gestützt auf eigne Anschauung, weit mehr aber auf die vortrefflichen geographischen und statistischen Werke amerikanischer Schriftsteller, eine kurze

Skizze der äußeren Beschaffenheit der westlichen Staaten Amerikas zu geben.¹

Die ungeheure Länderstrecke zwischen den Alleghani, auch Apalachen genannt, deren Zweige in den verschiedenen Staaten wieder verschiedene Namen haben, östlich, den Felsgebirgen (Rocky Mountains), einer Fortsetzung der Andes oder Cordilleren Südamerikas, und der großen Wasserscheide im Norden Amerikas, westlich; nördlich begrenzt von den englischen Besitzungen und südlich von dem mexicanischen Meerbusen bespült, ist eine große weite Ebene von den bedeutendsten Wassermassen der ganzen Erde durchschnitten. Der Mississippi, der Missouri, der rothe Fluß, Arkansas, Ohio, der Tennessee, Kentucky und Illinois, mit ihren bedeutenden unzähligen Nebenflüssen durchströmen diesen fruchtbarsten aller Landstriche. Zahlreiche und bedeutende Seen, aus denen Flüsse wie der mächtige Lorenzo ihren Ausgang nehmen, haben sich im Norden dieses Plateaus gesammelt. Das einzige Ozark-Gebirge im Arkansas-Gebiete, welches Gebirge sich in dem Missouri-Staate zu Hügelu verflacht und eine ganz eigenthümliche, sowohl von den beiden Hauptgebirgen als auch von den übrigen Erdbildungen verschieden Steinformation ist, scheint sich unzusammenhängend auf dieser ungeheuren Fläche erhoben zu haben, die man unter dem Namen Mississippi-Stromgebiet umfaßt und die eine Ausdehnung von 1,300,000 englischen Quadrat-Meilen oder 833,000,000 Acres in sich schließt. Die Erhöhungen in dieser Ebene sind eigentlich nur durch Flußthäler gebildet, sie sind nur Einschnitte, nur die Gegensätze der Strombetten. Von den Amerikanern, die in dergleichen Unterscheidungen scharf sind, werden sie auch nie Hügel oder Berge genannt, sondern mit dem nur westlich der Alleghani bekannten Worte Bluffs, einen Ausdruck, den wir etwa nur durch erhöhte Flußufer würden geben können. Treten auch diese Bluffs öfter meilenweit zurück, sie erscheinen nie als eigentliche Gebirgskzüge, sondern sind stets nur

¹ Für die der englischen Sprache mächtigen Auswanderer und für jeden, der sich für Amerika interessiert, ist wohl kein Werk von größerer Belehrung und Bedeutung als: Timothy Flint's History and Geography of the Mississippi Valley, Cincinnati, 1832. Ein anderes schätzbares Werkchen, besonders für Amerikanische Auswanderer aus den vorderen Staaten der Union geschrieben, ist das von Bed. Prebiger in Rockbridge in Illinois: A Guide for Emigrants, containing Sketches of Illinois and Missouri and the adjacent parts. Boston 1831.

die Marken der Flüsse. Diese Bluffs sind alle Kalksteinbildungen, wie überhaupt diese ganze Ebene, von der wir sprechen, eine Kalkunterlage hat. Nur in den Alleghani und den Rocky Mountains findet sich Granit, und in den letzteren auch vulkanische Bildung, nur diese beiden Gebirgszüge, die dem Golf von Mexico zu einander nähern, können Urgebirge (primitive Rocks) genannt werden.

Schon diese rein geographische Darstellung wird es dem Gebildeteren einleuchtend machen, daß hier wohl unendlich fruchtbares und zum Anbau fähiges Land, doch keineswegs eine im Ganzen schöne und ansprechende Natur zu finden sey. Der gewöhnliche Auswanderer freilich, der dem härtesten Druce durch sein Vornehmen zu entgehen sucht, und der seine Lage ändert, um nicht sich und seine Familie in Dürftigkeit untergehen zu sehen, dem ist es wohl gleichgültig, ob er reizende Thäler, steile Felsklippen und zum Himmel anstrebende Gebirge antrifft oder nicht, im Gegentheil er wird flache Ebenen und von Hügelu nicht durchschnittenen Land als am besten zum Ackerbau vorziehen. Am Ende darf der Mangel großartiger Naturschönheiten keine Klasse der Auswanderer abschrecken, denn keine geringfügige Ursache wird es sein, die den Menschen vom Orte seiner Jugend, seiner theuersten Erinnerungen, aus den Umgebungen seiner Freunde, und aus den Grenzen seines Vaterlandes forttreibt, — aber doch weiß ich, daß so Viele gerade von denen, für welche Duden am Meisten berechnet ist, kein geringes Gewicht bei ihrer Auswanderung auf die zu findenden zauberischen Naturschönheiten legten, daß Alle gewiß die neuen und schönen Eindrücke der reizenden Landschaften in der frischen jungfräulichen Erde mit in Aufschlag brachten.

Als wir den angenehmen Hudson hinauffuhren, die wirklich oft reizenden Ufer des Mohawks, und die Wasserfälle dieses Flusses und des Genessee sahen, glaubten die Meisten meiner Reisegefährten nur den schwachen Abdruck der großartigen Bilder zu erblicken, welche am Ohio, am Mississippi, dem Vater der Ströme, am brausenden Missouri endlich ihren staunenden Blicken begegnen würden. Die Getäuschten! mit den letzten Zweigen der Alleghani-Gebirge verlor die Gegend ihren interessanten Charakter, und eine ungeheure Einförmigkeit trat an die Stelle reizender Landschaften,

Wirklich gibt es im Verhältniß zu der außerordentlichen Ausdehnung nicht leicht ein monotoneres Land, als das in Frage stehende. Die Erdbildungen, die Mineralien sind von den Canadischen Seen bis zum mexicanischen Meerbusen fast dieselben, die Pflanzenwelt hat bei aller Abweichung, die hinsichtlich des Klimas in einem Lande herrschen muß, welches sich von beinahe dem Wendekreis des Krebses bis fast zum 50. Grade nördlicher Breite erstreckt, eine seltene Uebereinstimmung. Auch die Menschen, die ursprünglich diesen Boden bewohnten, sind bekannt für ihre außerordentliche Aehnlichkeit. Ueber 60 verschiedene Stämme der Indianer bedeckten einst diese weiten Striche, und doch waren alle Zweige wenig von einander unterschieden. Der Canadier gleicht dem Cherokesen am mexicanischen Meerbusen in Sitte und Gewohnheit, in äußerer Bildung und in Charakter mehr, als der Bewohner eines Schweizercantons dem Landmann aus dem Nachbar-canton.

Duden spricht nun zwar nicht sonderlich viel von den Naturschönheiten diesseits der Alleghani, und zwar aus sehr begreiflichen Gründen, allein das, was er gelegentlich mittheilt, erweckt doch ganz andere Bilder, als sie in Wirklichkeit existiren. Er spricht von den waldigen Höhen im Ohio, die steil und hoch seyen, und in Deutschland Berge heißen würden, (8ter Brief), er spricht ferner noch öfter von solchen Anhöhen, die der Deutsche gewiß Berge nennen würde. Der Amerikaner nennt diese Erhöhungen freilich nicht Berge, weil er, wie ich schon früher gesagt habe, in der Bezeichnung von Gegenständen der äußern Welt etwas genauer ist, und ich glaube selbst, daß mancher Deutsche im Laufe der Erzählung oder des leichten Gesprächs sich des Wortes „Berge“ zur Bezeichnung bedienen würde, aber es grenzt fürwahr an's Lächerliche, mit diesen Hügeln, die nirgends die Höhe von wenigen hundert Fuß übersteigen, gegen Europäer groß zu thun. Jeder Deutsche, der mehr als die Ufer der Düffel oder der Spree gesehen hat, weiß recht gut, was eigentlich Berge sind, und was nicht, wenn er es auch öfter mit der Benennung „Berg“ nicht so scharf nimmt und selbst mäßige Erhöhungen mit diesem Ausdruck beehrt. Wirklich muß der Auswanderer, wenn er solche Redensarten liest, glauben, hier eine wahre Appennatur zu finden, er muß auf die Meinung gerathen, daß seine Vorstellungen von

Größe in diesem Lande der Wunder gar nicht mehr ausreichen. Ich habe die Ufer des Missouri bis Jefferson hinauf bereist, aber es ist mir nicht im Geringsten eingefallen, von beträchtlichen „*Up c n*“ etwas zu sehen, zu denen sich die Flügel am Flusse erheben sollen. (13ter Brief). Ich sah stets nur Erhöhungen, die allerdings öfters steil gegen den Fluß abfallen, und nicht uninteressante Felsenparthien bilden. Der Ohio ist der Fluß, der von all den westlichen größeren Strömen der anziehendste ist, aber man darf sich keineswegs die klaren Fluthen des Rheins vorstellen. Duden weist auf die französische Benennung des Flusses: „*la belle riviere*“ hin, und spricht mit etwas Enthusiasmus von den „reizenden Ufern des milden Stromes.“

Aber es ist fast unzweifelhaft, daß die Franzosen ihm diese Benennung lediglich im Gegensatz zu dem trüben und schlammigen Mississippi gaben, von welchem letzteren Flusse aus sie zuerst mit den einströmenden Wassern des Ohio bekannt wurden, die allerdings schön und herrlich im Vergleich mit dem cochythischen Mississippi sind. Am wenigsten haben wohl die Ufer die Franzosen, die vielleicht von den Ufern der Rhone, Loire oder Garonne kamen, veranlaßt, vom *belle riviere* zu sprechen. Zur Zeit, als sie den Ohio kennen lernten, waren dessen Ufer so ausschließlich mit Wald bedeckt, daß von einer An- oder Aussicht gar keine Rede seyn konnte.

Der Osage hat schöneres Wasser als der Ohio, aber der dicht mit Wald umgebene Fluß, der nirgends einen gelichteten Punkt hat, vermag nur wenige Augenblicke das Auge des Wanderers zu fesseln. Jetzt, wo der Ohio an vielen Orten gelichtet ist, und freundliche Ansiedelungen und niedliche Städtchen und Städte in seinen Wellen sich spiegeln, fehlt es allerdings nicht hier und da an hübschen Ausichten; der Wald selbst, der größtentheils die Ufer noch bedeckt, wird durch seine unendlich üppige Vegetation den Reisenden anziehen, aber von romantischen Lagen, pittoresken Parthien, vollständigen und großartigen Landschaften kann auch hier noch keine Rede seyn. Der Mississippi hat von der Ohio-Mündung bis St. Louis hinauf eine Strecke von etwa 200 engl. Meilen nur äußerst wenig interessante Parthien. Wer freilich die Lage von Cincinnati „*romantisch*“ finden mag, hat sich auch bei den Ufern des Mississippi zufrieden gefunden. Den

schlimmsten Eindruck macht aber doch gewiß der Missouri auf den Beschauer. Wären die Ufer auch noch so schön, der Bottom (das Flußthal) noch üppiger und reicher in Vegetation, die Felsparthien viel großartiger und imposanter als sie wirklich sind, doch würde der häßliche Fluß zu sehr contrastiren und den Eindruck unangenehm dämpfen. Die Farbe des Wassers spielt ins Gelbliche und ist stets schmutzig trübe. Der Missouri ist es, der den Mississippi so unangenehm macht; denn vor der Vereinigung ist letzterer Fluß klar und hell. Nirgendes beinahe kann man des Stromes Breite ungehindert übersehen. Zahllose Inseln und Sandbänke ragen aus ihm hervor. Oft hat der Fluß sein altes Bett verlassen, und nur bei hohem Wasserstande wird die zurückgebliebene nackte Sandfläche überspielt. Wolken von leichtem Trieblande werden aufgejagt, und hindern die Aussicht zugleich und belästigen die Augen. Beständig werden Stücke des Ufers abgerissen, und so kommt es vor, daß eine Menge verdorrter Bäume aus allen Theilen des Wassers drohend herausstehen. So schön es sonst seyn mag, an großen und schiffbaren Strömen zu wohnen, so unendlich fruchtbar die Bottoms des Missouri sind, so wenig wird der Deutsche sich hier leicht gefallen und die heimathlichen Fluren vergessen lernen.

Von klaren hellen Bächen, murmelnden Wasserfällen, plätschernden Quellen, wie man es sich meist in Deutschland denkt, und die auch Dübens Schilderungen vermuthen lassen, weiß man hier auch nicht sonderlich viel. Wenig Bäche widerstehen der trocknenden Hitze des Sommers, und selbst, nach ihrem Bette zu urtheilen, beträchtliche Fließchen haben im Sommer und Herbst kein Wasser. Kies oder Sandsteinlagen sind sehr selten und meist fließt das Wasser über Lehm. Beinahe alle kleineren Gewässer haben einen schleichenden Lauf und beleben die Umgebung bei weitem nicht so sehr als unser Gebirgswasser. Die Worte: „unberührte Erde, Urwald, frische Natur,“ ich weiß es wohl, sie üben an dem Fremdling einen unwiderstehlichen Zauber aus. Aber es bedarf nur eines kurzen Aufenthaltes, um sich über alle diese Herrlichkeiten zu enttäuschen. Versteht man unter Urwald die Waldungen, die noch keines Menschen Fuß betreten, oder in denen noch keines Sterblichen Art erklungen ist, so gibt es freilich deren hier genug, versteht man aber darunter ungeheure Massen zum

Simmel strebender Riesenbäume, die viele Menschenalter vorher entsproßt sind, so irrt man sich in Etwas. Gerade in dichten Waldungen zerstören die alten Bäume den jungen Nachwuchs, der sich dann zu Gestrüpp verdichtet. Große Bäume drängen sich nicht leicht zusammen, und wo sie einmal dicht aneinander aufkommen konnten, hindern sie sich doch in der Ausbreitung. Tausende von Schlingpflanzen ersticken in ihren Umarmungen die schönsten Bäume. Hat der Baum seine Zeit gelebt, und er lebt nicht länger wie die gleiche Art bei uns auch, so stirbt er ab, fällt nieder und begräbt mit seinem Sturze den jungen Nachwuchs. Die ungeheure Platane, hier Sykamore genannt, ausgenommen, die in dem fetten Votton Lande zu außerordentlichem Umfange gedeiht, habe ich weder am Ohio, Mississippi oder Missouri, größere Bäume gesehen als in Deutschland auch, ja ich muß sagen, daß ich hier noch keine so mächtigen und hohen Wälder gesehen habe, als im östlichen Holstein. Der schöne Ahornbaum in Tyrol und den Salzburger Alpen (*acer pseudo platanus*), wird selbst von der hiesigen Platane nicht viel übertroffen werden.

Wenn ich es gleich hier versucht habe, die Eindrücke, die Rudens Gemälde der westlichen Natur auf die meisten Leser macht, etwas zu mäßigen, so darf doch Niemand darum glauben, daß ich für diese Gegenden ganz unempfindlich gewesen wäre, ja daß ich wohl gar wegen dieser Spärlichkeit an Naturschönheiten dem Einwanderer in diese Länder abzurathen gedächte. Ich gestehe mit Vergnügen, daß es an a n n u t h i g e n Parthien, wie wir sie so oft in den nördlichen Gegenden Deutschlands, besonders in Mecklenburg und Holstein finden, nicht fehlt. Wo nur gelichtet ist, wird die Gegend schon schöner, und späteren Generationen ist manche, gewiß sehr reizende Parthie vorbehalten. Man muß gerade in diesen Gegenden gereist seyn, um recht lebhaft zu empfinden, wie doch nur der Mensch die Natur schön und interessant macht, wie einförmig und langweiligend selbst correcte Ansichten werden, wenn menschliches Leben und Regung fehlt. Drei Artisläuge, wenige Balken zu einer Hütte verbunden, ein freundlich rauchendes Kamin würden oft hinreichen, einem jener zahlreichen Thäler im Westen den schönsten Anstrich zu verleihen. Es ist nichts der Art zu sehen, und unbefriedigt wendet sich der Blick von der starren Einförmigkeit ab. Einen ganz besonders schönen Anblick bie-

ten indeß die Prairien, wo sie mit Wald vermischt, oder auch nur am Saume bekränzt, vorkommen. Das Auge erfreut sich an einer Fernsicht, die es in den dichten Wäldern vergebens sucht. Im Frühling, wenn alles vom jungen Grün und dem lebhaftesten Blumenschimmer erglänzt, oder im Herbst, wenn sich die Blätter färben und vom schönsten Roth erglühn, ist der Anblick der Prairien wirklich allerliebste. Die gewöhnliche Uebersetzung dieser überaus fruchtbaren Ebenen, mit Steppen, erweckt leicht falsche Ansichten. Wiesen, was ja auch das französische Wort ausdrückt, sehen sie eher ähnlich, an unwirthliche Saiten ist kein Gedanke.

Alles, was Duden über die Fruchtbarkeit dieser westlichen Gegenden sagt, ist nicht im Geringsten übertrieben. Die größte Fruchtbarkeit ist in den Flußthälern, Bottoms, und dann in den Prairien. Doch ist auch bei weitem das meiste Land, auch entfernt von den Flüssen, immer noch ergiebig genug und sobald noch nicht einer künstlichen Erhöhung der Fruchtbarkeit bedürftig. Im Amerikanischen Bottom (American Bottom), dem Strich, der sich östlich vom Mississippi, von der Mündung des Kasaskia südlich, bis zur Mündung des Illinois nördlich erstreckt, pflanzen die meist aus Franzosen bestehenden Ansiedler schon über hundert Jahre Mais und indianisches Korn, eine Pflanze, die den Boden am meistens ausmergelt, und noch immer gedeiht sie ohne alle Mittel in gleicher Güte, in gleicher Menge.

So richtig sonst die Amerikaner in ihren Angaben von der Beschaffenheit ihres Landes sind, so leicht können selbst ihre gewissenhaftesten Schriftsteller im Punkte der Annehmlichkeit und Schönheit der westlichen Staaten irre führen. Einerseits kann man dem Amerikaner eine gewisse Vorliebe für sein Vaterland, welches ihm eine sowohl geistig als physisch genügende Existenz gewährt, gewiß nicht verargen, andererseits verbindet er aber auch mit der Vorstellung von schön, ganz andere Begriffe. Der Amerikaner kennt nichts weniger, als das, was wir *Romantik* nennen. Die Richtung seines Geistes ist durchaus praktisch, seine Wünsche sind vorzugsweise auf erstrebare Realitäten gerichtet. Fruchtbares Land, das hundertfachen Ertrag gibt, ist ihm schönes Land; er begreift kaum, wie man noch andere Ansprüche stellen könne. Liegt dieses Land zugleich in der Nähe von Straßen,

Ranälen oder schiffbaren Flüssen, ist es also zum Absatze günstig, so hat es nach seiner Ansicht den Gipfel von Schönheit und Vollkommenheit erreicht. Auf unsere Frage nach der Beschaffenheit des westlichen Landes, die wir so oft auf unserer Reise an die Amerikaner stellten, erhielten wir gewiß immer die Antwort: O, schönes Land, mächtig schönes Land, das schönste in den Vereinigten Staaten. Diese gleichmäßige Auskunft, die dem Sinne der Frage nur halb entsprach, war mit eine Ursache, daß so Viele unserer Gesellschaft glaubten, die wahren Herrlichkeiten würden jetzt erst kommen. Ich rathe Jedem wohlmeinend, die Schönheiten der vorderen Staaten, die Ufer des Hudson, die Wasserfälle des Mohawk und besonders des Niagara, oder die schönen Parthien in den Alleghani, an den Ufern des Susquehanna und Potomack ja zu besuchen. Je weiter westlich, je schwerer wird es ihm fallen, sich einen ähnlichen Genuß zu verschaffen. Wenn irgendswo, so ist es hier praktisch, im Augenblick zu genießen und dem Schooße der unsicheren Zukunft keine Freuden anzuvertrauen.

Ein bei weitem wichtigerer Punkt aber, als die äußere Erscheinung und Bildung dieser neuen Länder ist aber deren Klima und die Wirkungen des letzteren auf die Bewohner, namentlich auf die neuen Einwanderer. Duden hat über diesen Gegenstand eine viele Seiten lange Abhandlung geschrieben, die indeß, so viel Gedachtes und Richtiges sie enthalten mag, den wenigsten Einwanderungslustigen von besonderem Vortheil sehn wird. Es handelt sich bei dem Zwecke, den sein Buch eigentlich haben soll, weniger um die Prüfung der Theorie von der mittleren Temperatur oder um die Richtigkeit oder Unrichtigkeit der Volney'schen Witterungs-Scalen als nur einfache Angabe, welche Art von Klima der Ankömmling hier eigentlich anzutreffen habe. Ich würde zu weit gehen, und den Zweck meiner Darstellung verfehlen, wenn ich bei meiner Betrachtung über das Klima mehr als das ganz Allgemeine von dem großen Mississippi-Stromgebiet sagen würde; ich beschränke mich daher vorzüglich auf die Länder, die jetzt sowohl den Amerikaner, als den Europäer am meisten interessiren, und die nach Mittheilung aller Männer von Prüfung dem Auswanderer und besonders dem deutschen Auswanderer am meisten Vortheil gewähren. Es sind dies die Staaten Ohio (wiewohl hier schon der Preis des Landes sehr steigt), Indiana, Illi-

nois, Missouri. Kein Deutscher wird sich leicht südlich des Ohioflusses wohl finden und sich dem ihm fremden Plantagenbau ergeben, eben so wenig als ihm die Gegenden nordwestlich des Eriesee's besonders zusagen werden. Zwar haben sich kürzlich Deutsche nach Arkansas, in die Gegend von Little Rock am Arkansasflusse gewendet, und viele Amerikaner ihren Auswanderungszug nach dem Gebiete Michigan gelenkt, welches von dem Michigan, Huron und Eriesee westlich, nördlich und östlich, von Indiana und Ohio südlich begrenzt wird. Allein diese Gründungen sind noch zu neu, um von Erfolg sprechen zu können, und jedenfalls jetzt noch den bewohnteren Gegenden nachzusetzen. Selbst die nördlichsten Striche von Illinois mögen für den, der auch ein gelinderes und heiteres Klima sucht, nicht ganz annehmlich mehr seyn.

Mein Aufenthalt in den Vereinigten Staaten ist noch von zu kurzer Dauer, als daß ich lediglich Resultate meiner eignen Beobachtungen mitzutheilen wagen dürfte. Wer von diesem glühend heißen Sommer (1833), wo eine wahrhaft tropische Hitze alles vertrocknen und verschmachten ließ, von diesen frühen Frösten und der auffallenden Erscheinung, daß wenigstens am Missouri, wo ich mich gerade befand, am 20. Oktober schon Schnee fiel, auf das beständige Klima schließen wollte, würde gewiß zu voreilig handeln, wie wohl ich versichern kann, daß ich viele ältere Ansiedler, namentlich am Missouri gesprochen habe, die weder die Hitze des Sommers, welche die neuen Ankömmlinge so ausnehmend drückte, noch die frühe und starke Kälte besonders ungewöhnlich fanden. Die amerikanischen Einwohner freilich, die gerade in den Gegenden wohnten, nach denen sich der Zug der Auswanderer und Kauflustigen wendete, waren klug genug, diese unangenehme Erscheinungen für ganz außergewöhnlich zu halten.

Die amerikanischen Statistiken, welche ich zur Benutzung habe, stimmen darin überein, daß das Klima des Mississippi-Thales im weiteren Sinne genauer mit seiner Lage unter diesem oder jenem Breitengrade harmonire, als wohl in irgend einem andern Theile der Erde. Es ist ein überraschender Anblick, die gleichmäßige Abstufung in Entwicklung oder Absterben der Pflanzenwelt zu beobachten, wenn man von Norden nach Süden hin den Mississippi hinunter fährt, entweder zur Zeit des Frühlings oder des Herb-

stes. Gleichmäßigkeit der äußeren Bildung, Ermangelung aller Gebirge geben sie, und gewiß mit Recht, als Gründe dieser Erscheinung an. Diese Angabe reicht aber keineswegs hin, das Klima zu charakterisiren. Sie dient nur zur Vergleichung der einzelnen Theile dieses großen Thales mit einander, die alle gleichen Einflüssen ausgesetzt sind, und auf die alle gleiche Ursachen wirken. Nun zu schließen, daß sie deswegen hinsichtlich des Klimas den Ländern unter gleichen Breitengraden der alten Welt, oder den östlichen Staaten Amerikas gleich seyen, wäre durchaus unrichtig. Ueberhaupt ist ein Vergleich verschiedener Länder, wenn man nicht außer der geographischen Lage auch auf die unzähligen Ursachen, die auf das Klima Einfluß haben, Rücksicht nimmt, stets sehr mißlich. Wie in den glücklichen Fluren der Lombardei, oder in den ebenen Theilen von Neapel oder Griechenland wird das Klima hier nie werden, weil gerade der gänzliche Mangel an Bergen den Winden einen ungeheuren Spielraum gibt. Die Quellen des Mississippi und aller der Gewässer, die in die nördlichen Seen ausströmen, entspringen keinen Bergen, nur ganz mäßigen Erhöhungen, die ihnen Fall verleihen.¹ Kein schützender Gebirgsrücken kann den Zug der hereintreichenden Nordwinde aufhalten. Eben so weht die glühende Luft vom mexicanischen Meerbusen ungehindert den Mississippi hinauf, nach dem fernsten Norden. Daraus ergibt sich auch die auffallende Erscheinung, die einigermassen mit den oben angeführten amerikanischen Schriftstellern in Widerspruch zu stehen scheint, daß in Neu-Orleans am Meerbusen von Mexico die Kälte weit geringer ist, als am nördlichen Rock River und nur weit kürzer anhält, und daß eine beinahe eben so verschmachtende, wenn gleich bei weitem kürzere Hitze am Michigan-See, als in Louisiana herrschen kann. Dieser Umstand erklärt auch die rasch abspringende Temperatur, die Duden für den größten Theil des Jahres in Abrede stellen will, je nachdem der oder jener Wind die Oberhand erhält. Die von Duden beobachtete Gleichmäßigkeit der Winddrehung, die hier herrschen soll, verhindert diese rasche Abwechselung nicht, indem

¹ Ich erinnere mich deutsche Weilandische Karten gesehen zu haben, wo an den Quellen dieser Flüsse starke Gebirgszüge hingezeichnet sind, allein die, welche die Gegenden bereist haben, namentlich Major Long, wissen nichts davon.

er natürlich selbst zugeben muß, daß viele Ausnahmen in diesem regelmäßigen Windlauf Statt finden. Zudem ist diese Regelmäßigkeit überall zu beobachten, nicht bloß hier und namentlich auf der offenen See längst in Erfahrung gebracht worden, und gibt dem Seeman die sicherste und einfachste Wetter-Prognose zugleich.

Es ist dieser schnelle Absprung von Wärme und Kälte und umgekehrt, die *a l l g e m e i n e* Klage jedes Europäers in diesen Ländern, und selbst die kurze Zeit meines Aufenthaltes reichte hin, mich lebhaft diese Abwechselung fühlen zu lassen. Reise und erste Einrichtung auf den neuen Ländereien machten freilich ständige Beobachtungen des Thermometers unmöglich. Doch ist mir eine Beobachtung erinnerlich, die zum Beweise meiner Mittheilung dienen mag. Der Thermometer stand den 29. Juli auf 31° Reaumur zur Mittagszeit, und den 30. Juli ebenfalls um die Mittagszeit nur auf 21°, also ein Unterschied gegen den vorigen Tag um 10°. Die Ursache war, daß der Südostwind in Nordost übergegangen war. Den ganzen heißen Sommer hindurch waren die Nächte ausnehmend kühl, und im Durchschnitt um 12° und mehr von der Tagestemperatur verschieden. Alle amerikanischen Schriftsteller sind über diesen Punkt einig, und leiten vielleicht mehr als nöthig, von dieser Erscheinung die häufigen Krankheitsfälle ab.

Bei allem diesem wird kein vernünftiger Mensch läugnen, daß im *G a n z e n* die Witterung hier angenehmer, der Sommer wärmer, der Winter gelinder sey, als in Deutschland. Wir haben hier im November neben wenigen unfreundlichen Regentagen und kurzer aber unangenehmer Kälte die herrlichsten Sommertage gehabt, wie wir sie nie, selbst in den mildesten Gegenden des Rheins gesehen haben. Der Himmel ist heiterer und namentlich ist am Missouri und Illinois die Luft reiner und trockener, wie an den atlantischen Staaten Nordamerikas und wohl auch in vielen Gegenden Deutschlands. Allein wer mag deshalb einer so emphatischen Ergießung beistimmen, wie wir sie in Duden's Bericht im dreißigsten Briefe finden, wo es heißt: „Wer endlich bei dem Worte: „Klima“ dem Gedanken an das fröhliche Gedeihen der Menschen den gebührenden Rang einräumt, dem wird die Kunde über die Heiterkeit des Himmels nicht weniger wichtig

bünten, als die über die Temperatur. Der Himmel der Mississippiländer hat vor dem des mittleren Europas und namentlich vor dem trüben (?) Himmel Deutschlands, einen solchen Vorzug, daß dadurch allein jeder Nachtheil, welcher von der Ansiedlung in den sogenannten Wildnissen für die Gesundheit des Deutschen zu fürchten ist, im Uebermaße aufgewogen wird.“

Der Himmel erscheint über den pontinischen Sümpfen gewiß heiterer als über Franken und dem Rheinlande, und wer wird die ersteren Gegenden den letzteren in Rücksicht der Gesundheit vorziehen. So viele andere Umstände wirken hier in den neuen Ländern auf das Körpersystem der Menschen, daß es gewiß übertrieben ist, sie alle durch den Einfluß eines heiteren Himmels für aufgehoben zu halten. Bei seiner Schilderung des Winters scheint ihm am meisten der milde Winter von 1824—1825 vorgeschwebt zu haben; auf allgemeine Charakterisirung dieser Jahreszeit darf seine Darstellung keinen Anspruch machen. Sie entspricht ebensowenig der Wirklichkeit, als das, was er von der steten Annehmlichkeit der Sommermonate mittheilt. Eine Hitze von 32° Reaumur (104° Fahrenheit), welche um mehr als zwei Grade die Blutwärme übersteigt, und wie sie diesen Sommer über vier Wochen anhielt, und auch während Duden's Aufenthalt (30ster Brief) vorkam, ist den Deutschen sehr drückend, ja beinahe unerträglich. Bei einer solchen Wärme hört nicht nur alle körperliche Thätigkeit beinahe gänzlich auf, sondern auch alle Fähigkeit zum Denken. Der dumpf hinbrütende Orientale mag sich bei solcher Witterung wohl fühlen, nicht aber der bewegliche und thätige Bewohner des gemäßigten Europas. Es grenzt ans Komische, wenn Duden versichern will, daß bei heiterm Himmel eine solche Hitze (30ster Brief) nicht so lästig sei, als man glaube, und daß die dichten Wälder selbst die größte Hitze erträglich machten. Die Bewohner der Bottonwälder, und alle die, welche in Waldungen, die dem Luftzug nicht ausgesetzt waren, gingen oder arbeiteten, versichern allgemein, daß es dort noch viel weniger auszuhalten gewesen wäre, als in den freien Nidungen oder Prairien. Zudem kann es weder der Reisende, noch weniger aber der neue Ansiedler einrichten, daß er gerade im Walde zu wandeln oder zu arbeiten habe, wenn der Strahl der Sonne am meisten drückt. Das kann wohl der einzelne Privatmann, der lediglich

zur Beobachtung seinen Aufenthalt da oder dort wählt; für die bei weitem größte Mehrzahl ist eine solche Schonung ihrer Person unmöglich. Nicht minder ist der Winter, wenn auch im Ganzen gelinder als im mittleren Europa, doch öfter mit sehr kalten Tagen vermischt.¹ Auch bei uns beginnt eine andauernde Kälte nicht leicht vor dem Januar. Der Missouri und Mississippi sind öfter längere Zeit zugefroren, und zwar so, daß sie mit beladenen Wagen befahren werden können. Im Jahre 1818 war der Mississippi neun Wochen mit festem Eis bedeckt.² Ist zwar gleich ein solches Gefrieren mehr die Wirkung der aus dem hohen Norden ankommenden Eismassen, als der etwa bei St. Louis herrschenden Temperatur, so ist dennoch diese Erscheinung in ihren Einflüssen gleich unangenehm, und verbannt eben so den Gedanken an einen milden und linden Winter, als wenn ihre Ursachen andere wären. Ganz besonders kommt es aber zur Berücksichtigung, daß man hier fast gar keinen Schutz gegen die eindringende Kälte und unangenehme Witterung hat, und daß selbst der gelindeste Winter dem Deutschen, der gutgebaute Häuser und warme Ofen gewohnt ist, fühlbarer ist, als ein strenger in seiner Heimath. Die beste amerikanische Wohnung auf dem Lande gewährt keinen hinreichenden Schutz und kennt nur Kamine. Viele Jahre werden aber verstreichen, ehe der neue Ansiedler sich eine Wohnung im europäischen Style wird aufrichten können; ja die Mehrzahl wird sich ihre Lebenszeit mit amerikanischen, oder doch einfach nach amerikanischem Schnitt erbauten Hütten behelfen müssen. Spätere Generationen werden eine mildere Temperatur erleben, denn der Mensch kann auch hierauf einwirken; für jetzt aber denke der Auswanderer an keine nur „rauhe Jahreszeit“ (13ter Brief), welche an die westindischen Inseln oder an Länder gleicher Lage nur zu sehr gemahnt, sondern mache sich auf einen oft strengen, wenn gleich nicht anhaltenden Frost gefaßt, und versehe sich mit Ofen, Bettwerk und Winterkleidern.

¹ Im Januar 1834 war es acht Tage hindurch so kalt, als es wohl je in Deutschland war. Den 2ten Januar fiel der Thermometer 17° unter 0, den 3ten 18, den 4ten 22°. Auf offenen Prairien sogar bis auf 27 und 28°!! Kein Winter in Deutschland wurde von den neuen Ansiedlern so gefühlt, als dieser. Der Schnee lag ebenfalls acht Tage lang.

² Tim. Flint's angeführtes Werk. 2te Ausgabe. Seite 294. 1. Thl.

Wäre aber auch die Temperatur, das Klima im engeren Sinne, noch angenehmer, der Gesundheit noch zuträglicher, so gibt es doch hier im Westen noch ganz besonders viele, auf den Menschen stark einwirkende Erscheinungen, die man gewöhnlich unter dem Worte Klima im allgemeinen Sinne mitbegreift. Diese von der eigentlichen Witterung ganz unabhängige Erscheinungen sind es, welche hauptsächlich als die Quelle so vieler Unannehmlichkeiten, so vieler Krankheiten betrachtet werden müssen. So oft nun auch Duden diese Einflüsse berührt hat, so wenig wird doch der Leser wissen, wenigstens der Leser, der nicht mit ganz prüfender Aufmerksamkeit den Darstellungen folgte, was er eigentlich davon zu glauben habe, oder nicht. Theils sind die Bemerkungen über diese Krankheitsursachen so zerstreut gegeben, theils sind sie durch Nebensätze so motivirt, daß am Ende von seitenlangen Erörterungen über diesen Punkt, gar kein Resultat herauszukommen scheint. Indessen geht doch aus allen seinen Mittheilungen hervor, als ließen sich die in Frage kommenden Krankheitsursachen ebenso leicht, als gewiß heben. Es ist dieß aber keineswegs der Fall, und die Einflüsse des stark ausdünstenden vegetabilischen Bodens, der Ausdünstungen der stehenden Wasser, der niedrig gelegenen feuchten Wiesen, der starrenden Sümpfe und der dichten mit modernden Stämmen erfüllten Wälder, können nur mit der Zeit und mit Zunehmung der ganzen Bevölkerung, nicht durch Vorichtsmaßregeln und Kraftanstrengung des Einzelnen gebrochen werden. Es könne diese Länder nördlich des Ohio und östlich und westlich des Mississippi einst die gesündesten und für den Europäer zuträglichsten Gegenden werden, sie sind es aber jetzt noch keineswegs. Ehe nicht die Wälder dieser Staaten zum größeren Theile gelichtet, die niedrigen Prairien und sumpfigen Stellen ausgetrocknet, die Niederungen der Flüsse, welche Ueberschwemmungen ausgesetzt sind, durch Dämme geschützt und befestigt sind, ehe darf man dem Gedanken an ein ungestörtes, frisches, fröhliches Gedeihen, wie es bei dem sonst milderen und doch nicht entnervenden Klima möglich wäre, keinen Raum geben.

Ich muß auch hier wieder auf die Mittheilungen der früher hier angesiedelten Europäer und die Auskunft, welche inländische Schriftsteller hinsichtlich des Gesundheitszustandes geben, zurückgehen; denn, wollte ich von den Erfahrungen dieses Sommers

1833 einen allgemeinen Schluß ziehen, so würde das trübste und abschreckendste Bild erscheinen. Wie ich die glühende Hitze dieses Jahres als Ausnahme gelten lassen will, so will ich auch die zahllosen Krankheiten, die hier herrschten, Unregelmäßigkeiten im Laufe der Natur nennen. Westlich des Mississippi besonders wüthete die Cholera nicht bloß in den größeren Plätzen, sondern auch auf dem Lande; mit dieser Krankheit zeigte sich zugleich, wie auch die Aerzte in andern Ländern gefunden haben wollen, eine bedeutende Anlage zu andern Krankheiten; gewiß ist es, daß jedes auch nur leichte Unwohlseyn einen böartigen choleraähnlichen, ja oft gleichen Charakter annahm. Ganz besonders wirkten diese herrschenden Krankheiten, mehr noch als die Cholera das Gallenfieber, auf die neuangekommenen Einwanderer, die durch die weite Reise, die drückende Hitze und ungewohnte Lebensart besonders erschöpft und angegriffen waren, und so kam es, daß die Zahl der Ankömmlinge mehr als decimirt wurde und die Meisten mehr oder minder Anfälle von Krankheit hatten. Ich will nicht sagen, was wir in St. Louis, seit Duden's Bericht der Strebepunkt der deutschen Einwanderer, Schreckliches erlebt haben. Auch in Paris, in London, in vielen Gegenden Europas waren die Verheerungen schrecklich, und keine Vorsichtsmaßregeln, keine Anstrengung der Aerzte konnte dem Umsichgreifen auch dort besonderen Einhalt thun. Warum sollten hier, wo keine schützende Maßregeln von Verwaltungswegen ergriffen wurden, wo ferner die Arzneikunde noch in der Wiege liegt, weniger traurige Resultate erwartet werden dürfen.

Der Gesundheitszustand war und ist aber auch sonst nicht zum Besten. Ich sprach so viele ältere Ansiedler über diesen Punkt, sah selbst so viele Krankheiten, die gänzlich unabhängig von den diesen Sommer herrschenden Seuchen waren, daß es kaum mehr einer Bestätigung der amerikanischen Schriftsteller bedurfte. Es ist bei den Eingeborenen längst fester Erfahrungssatz, daß ein neu unter Kultur gebrachtes Land, ein new country, wie sie sagen, mehr oder weniger ungesund sey. Es ist gewiß, daß namentlich die Schriftsteller der älteren Staaten America's die Besorgnisse für die Gesundheit in neuen Ländern übertrieben haben, und daß sie zu wenig in Anschlag brachten, daß die Mississippi-Gegenden ihrer südlichen Lage wegen doch auch wieder von

vielen Krankheiten, namentlich von Brustkrankheiten befreit sind. Aber eben so gewiß ist es auch, daß, je weniger Eins oder das Andere dieser Länder cultivirt ist, ein Heer von Fieberkrankheiten den Bewohner treffen wird. Duden in seiner wohlmeinenden Ansicht, gibt gleich so vielen Schriftstellern die besten Vorschriften für die Auswanderer. Er rath die Bottoms und Niederungen, gleich wie die Nähe von Sümpfen und stehenden Wassern zu vermeiden, er empfiehlt dringend an, die Hügel aufzusuchen, der frischen Luft und besonders des bessern Wassers wegen. Das ist Alles gut und schön, ist aber oft in der Ausführung unmöglich, oder wenn auch ausgeführt, doch immer nicht hinreichend. Ich verwerfe das Urtheil der Amerikaner, die im tiefen Flußthale leben und halte ihre Behauptung, daß es auf den Höhen wegen der aufsteigenden Dünste ungesunder sei, als in der Ebene, für lächerlich; allein ich kann eben so wenig glauben, daß eine Entfernung von wenigen Meilen vom Fluß Bottom hinreichend gegen allen übeln Einfluß schütze, und wenn auch gelinde Hügel vom Flusse trennen. Die Ausdünstung der fetten Erde und des dichten Waldes bleibt dennoch. Zudem ist es eine eigne Sache, sich gerade vom fettesten und besten Lande auszuschließen, und statt der unendlich fruchtbaren Ebene, doch den wenigstens im Vergleich mageren Boden der Hügel zu bebauen. Die wenigsten Einwanderer widerstehen der Versuchung, und die meisten Ansiedelungen sieht man nur am Bottom der Flüsse, oder wenn auch im höher gelegenen Lande beinahe ausschließlich am Ufer der kleinen Creeks.¹ Der Unterschied der Production ist zu verschieden, als daß nicht, so lange der Raum nicht beengt, die bewässerten Gegenden vorzugsweise gesucht würden. Dudens Wohnhaus, von den Deutschen meist mit dem scherzhaften Namen „Dudens Lustschloß“ oder auch „Dudens Grab“ benannt, steht selbst zwar etwas erhaben, doch dicht an einem Creek (Lake Creek), der, wie ich ihn sah, an den meisten Orten stille stand, an wenigen nur langsam schlich. Die Ausdünstungen dieses Wassers, das dem ungesunden See in Dudens Nähe entspringt, kann unmöglich einen zuträglichen Einfluß auf den Anwohner haben. Es ist wirklich für die Wanderer eine überraschende Erscheinung, in die Bottoms von der Höhe

¹ Creek, Name für kleine Flüggen und größere Bäche.

hinunter zu treten. Eine unendlich üppige und vom höheren Lande verschiedene Vegetation umgibt den Eintretenden. Tausende von Schlingpflanzen, die den malerischsten Anblick gewähren, hemmen seine Tritte, und eine zahllose Menge umgestürzter Bäume ändern jeden Augenblick seinen Weg. Aber auch ein betäubender und die Nerven angreifender Dufte weht ihm entgegen, und läßt ihn wünschen, den Reizen der Umgebung recht bald zu entfliehen. Besonders auffallend ist diese starke und betäubende Ausdünstung im Frühling und im Herbst. Was aber die Einwanderer ganz besonders in die Nähe der Flüsse oder Kanäle, also auch in die Nähe von Niederungen und dichten Wäldern (namentlich im Missouri sind gerade an den Flüssen die meisten Waldungen zwingt, ist der Vortheil der Wasserstraßen, und damit des Absatzes und des geselligen Verkehrs. Es bleibt also immer ein schwieriges Dilemma, welches noch einer Lösung bedarf, den besten Boden zu suchen und doch den gesündesten Wohnort. Es gibt gewiß Stellen, die beiden Ansprüchen genügen, aber sie sind selten und werden immer seltener, da man sie natürlich mit Vorliebe wählt. Die mit so großer Aufwendung von Pomp nach Europa verkündeten Eigenschaften der hiesigen Lande in Hinsicht auf Fruchtbarkeit und Ueppigkeit des Bodens, bleiben also vor der Hand noch etwas illusorisch und sind mit den Reizen eines herrlichen Gartens zu vergleichen, zu welchem aber eisernes Gitter dem sehnennden Neugierigen den Zutritt wehrt. Duden erzählt selbst, wie er vom Gifte des kaum gelichteten Waldbodens spricht, daß er, wenn er sich in der heißen Jahreszeit zuweilen im Garten beschäftigt, jedesmal die Folgen gespürt habe, und daß er sie durch den vorherigen und begleitenden Gebrauch von Arzneien, Bittersalzen, Schwefelsäure und Naphthen (wahrhaftig doch Mittel genug) nicht ganz zu verhüten im Stande gewesen sey. (28ter Brief.) Wer arbeiten muß, und die meisten Auswanderer werden nicht im Stande seyn, durch fremde Hände für sich arbeiten zu lassen, wird also wohl noch ernstere Folgen empfinden, um so mehr als man annehmen kann, daß die Wenigsten für ihren Gesundheitszustand alle die Mittel anwenden werden oder auch nur anzuwenden die Zeit finden, wie es Duden im Stande war. Ebenso wenig kann jeder die verlangte Vorsicht anwenden, das Wasser, welches an den meisten Stellen, da es über Lehm oder Kalk fließt,

der Gesundheit nicht sehr zuträglich ist, in den ersten zwei Jahren nur mit Schwefelsäure vermischt zu trinken. Wer jemals selbst rüstig in der Hitze gearbeitet hat, der weiß, wie unerträglich es ist, solche Vorschriften immer und unter allen Umständen anzuwenden. Für den Arbeiter, der nicht bloß beobachtet, sind solche Rathschläge nicht ausführbar. Sie erinnern an die wenig tröstlichen Versicherungen, die in Deutschland so oft von wohlmeinenden Aerzten und Nichtärzten beim Herannahen der Cholera gegeben worden sind, daß nämlich, wer n i e einen Diätfehler mache, stets die Abendluft vermeide, beständig die Zimmer räuchere, endlich diese oder jene Binde, dieses oder jenes Pflaster immer auf dem Leibe trage, ziemlich sicher sey, die Cholera nicht im hohen Grade zu bekommen. Solches Leben ist schon halber Tod, ja dieses beständige Schweben in Angst und Zweifel für Viele mehr als der Tod. Ich gebe gern zu, daß die ungewohnte und noch oben-drein gewiß schädliche amerikanische Lebensart, der Mangel einer geschützten Wohnung in der ersten Zeit und endlich der deprimirte Gemüthszustand, wie Duden sich ausdrückt, viel zur Neigung für Krankheiten beitragen, aber trotz alledem steht der Satz fest, daß an wenigen ganz besonders günstigen Tagen ausgenommen, der Neuangekommene darauf rechnen kann, wenigstens Anfälle der allgemein herrschenden Krankheiten aushalten zu müssen. Ich habe im Missouri besonders, wo ich in mehr als hundert theils deutschen, theils amerikanischen Ansiedelungen gewesen bin, keine zehn Menschen getroffen, die nicht über den schlechten Gesundheitszustand geklagt hätten. Die meisten Deutschen, und es war bei h e r e i n b r e c h e n d e m Winter, wo an keine Folge eines allgemein verbreiteten Krankheitsstoffes mehr gedacht werden konnte, die meisten Deutschen, ich wiederhole es, litten an Fiebern, die zwar im Ganzen nicht sehr gefährlich, aber wie nicht leicht eine Krankheit unangenehm und niederdrückend waren. Unsere nächste Umgebung in Illinois, die vom großem Botton des Mississippi (American Botton genannt) schon bedeutend entfernt und auf der höheren Prairie oder dem Walddande liegt, litt zwar weniger, als die Ansiedler im Missouri, die meist im oder dicht am Botton liegen, doch kamen auch Fieberfälle genug vor. Duden hat in der That die Sache etwas zu leicht genommen und ist wohl manichmal wenig verlässigen Angaben gefolgt. Wie könnte er

sonst von St. Louis sagen, man lebe in keiner Stadt Deutschlands gesünder als dort. (23ter Brief.) Es ist schon unwahrscheinlich, daß eine Stadt, welche mit Neuorleans, bekanntlich dem beinahe beständigen Aufenthalt von Krankheiten aller Art, besonders aber des gelben Fiebers, in der lebhaftesten Verbindung steht, ausnehmend gesund seyn soll. Die Schnelligkeit der Dampfschiffe, deren Anladen und Ausladen durch keine Maßregel auf Gesundheit im geringsten beschränkt ist, vermittelt die Krankheiten in einem hohen Grade. Wenigstens versicherten mich mehrere Bewohner von St. Louis, daß seit dem raschen Verkehr mit Neuorleans durch die Dampfschiffahrt der Gesundheitszustand sich bedeutend verschlimmert habe. Ein Blick auf die Sterbelisten, auf welchen die nur für einige Zeit dort lebenden Fremden, die gerade am häufigsten Opfer der Krankheit werden, sich nicht einmal verzeichnet finden, hätte Duden eines bessern belehren können. Die oben angeführte Schrift von Peck enthält eine Stelle, die wirklich zu sehr mit Dudens Behauptung contrastirt, um nicht angeführt zu werden. Es heißt da, Seite 238: „Ich feierte die Hochzeit einer mit bekannten jungen Dame in St. Louis mit; in 8 Tagen war sie eine Wittve. Bei dem Begräbniß eines Mannes in demselben Jahre (1821), der eine Wittve unter 20 Jahren hinterließ, waren 13 Wittven zugegen, von denen keine 24 Jahre alt war, und die ihre Lebensgefährten alle in diesem Jahre verloren hatten.“ Später unten folgt die Angabe, daß St. Louis in diesem Jahre nicht über 8000 Einwohner gezählt habe und daß auf 30 Personen eine gestorben sey. Gerade rücksichtlich des Gesundheitszustandes muß man in seinen Angaben sehr vorsichtig seyn; denn dieses ist der Punkt, bei welchem man sich den meisten Vorwürfen, ja Verwünschungen aussetzen kann, wenn Täuschungen mit unterlaufen. Nichts ist auch mehr geeignet, den Einwanderer in eine traurigere Lage zu versetzen, als körperliche Leiden. Der traurigen Fälle nicht zu gedenken, wo durch den Tod des Familienhauptes die Angehörigen oft in die betrübtste und elendeste Lage versetzt werden, reicht schon Krankheit eines der Glieder der Familie öfter hin, Noth und Kummer auf den Ankömmling zu häufen, der hier das Land der Freude und der Verheißung zu finden gehofft hatte. In diesem Lande, wo unser gewohntes geselliges Leben mehr oder minder vermißt wird, wo an keine Zerstreuung, an keine auf-

heiternde Muse so leicht zu denken ist, wo nur die freie Bewegung in einer kräftigen Natur, im Vollgefühle der Gesundheit Genuß bringen kann, da auf dem Krankenbette gefesselt zu liegen, drückt doppelt und dreifach schwer den Geist nieder. Es ist daher die heilige Pflicht, die Einwanderer ernstlich und nicht mit verdeckten Redensarten aufmerksam zu machen, und Entschlüssen, die nicht auf fester und ernster Ueberzeugung der geistigen oder physischen Nothwendigkeit gegründet sind, vorzubeugen. Die Uebel, auf welche man vorbereitet und gefaßt ist, werden jedenfalls leichter ertragen, wenn sie wirklich eintreffen. Bleiben sie aus, so wird die Freude um so größer seyn, und man wird wenigstens den nicht schelten, der damit vertraut gemacht hat. Wohl trifft aber Tadel beinahe unter allen Umständen den, der ins Schöne gemalt hat; denn es ist ein alter Satz, daß des Menschen Sinn und Verlangen nie ganz befriedigt wird.

Eben so wichtig aber, wie die Erörterung, wie es in dem Raume, wohin der Auswanderer strebt, aussehe, und welches dessen äußere Bildung und Beschaffenheit sey, bleibt die Untersuchung, wie man sich in diesem Raume bewegen könne, und welche Stellung man bei den oder jenen Mitteln zu erwarten habe. Und zwar muß sich diese Untersuchung nothwendig auf zwei Felder wenden, und zwei Fragen beantworten, was nämlich für das äußere physische Leben, die körperliche Existenz, und was ferner für das innere geistige Seyn zu hoffen und zu erwarten sey. Duden hat diesen Fragen einige eigene Briefe (29, 31) und endlich eine eigends angehängte Abhandlung gewidmet, und auch sonst noch oft Gelegenheit genommen, seine Ansichten mitzutheilen. Es sind diese bezügliche Stellen gewiß die gelungensten im ganzen Buche, und dienen zum Beweise, daß er die äußern und innern Verhältnisse der Freistaaten zu einem Gegenstande sorgfältiger Prüfung gemacht hat. Keineswegs aber gebe ich hiermit zu, daß ich mit Dudens philosophischen Deductionen, die er besonders in dem Anhange „Ueber die Natur der amerikanischen Freistaaten“ vorbringt, übereinstimme. So oft ich im Resultat dem Verfasser Recht geben muß, so himmelweit ist doch meine politische Ueberzeugung von der seinigen verschieden; doch verlangt der Zweck meiner Darstellung weniger eine Prüfung von Dudens Philosophemen, welche die meisten Leser ohnehin auf sich beruhen lassen,

als eine Untersuchung über die Richtigkeit seiner factischen Angaben und seiner aus der Natur des Bodens und der Bewohner unmittelbar hergeleiteten Schlüsse.

Um nun zunächst die die mehr äußere Stellung des Einwanderers ins Auge zu fassen, so ist das Ergebniß von Dubens Beobachtungen, daß es in jeder Hinsicht leicht, und in keinem Vergleich angenehm, besonders in den westlichen Staaten Amerikas zu leben sey, wenn nur anders bestimmte Voraussetzungen erfüllt wären. Auch ich müßte ein Thor sein, wenn ich nicht die großen Vortheile anerkennen wollte, die vor allem der, welcher Landwirthschaft, unbedingt hier die sicherste Basis der Existenz, treiben will, hier vor Europa findet. Fruchtbares Land, durch Abgaben keineswegs beschwert, Leichtigkeit wo überall Grundeigenthum und alle bürgerlichen Rechte zu erwerben, Freiheit des Handels und jeglichen Gewerbes, ein Klima, welches dem Eingewöhnten nicht ungünstig ist, gute Land- und Wasserstraßen, die den Verkehr vermitteln, und geselligen Umgang erleichtern; dieß alles muß den segensreichsten Einfluß auf die äußere Stellung gewähren. Allein der Genuß dieser Herrlichkeiten ist wenigstens für die erste Zeit an so viele Entbehrungen und Aufgebungen geknüpft, daß der neue Ankömmling meist der Meinung ist, daß die Nachtheile bei weitem nicht von den Vortheilen aufgewogen würden, und daß die erlangte Lage der gebrachten Opfer keineswegs werth gewesen sey. Vor solcher niederdrückenden Ansicht kann ebenfalls nichts besser schützen, als eine gewissenhafte Angabe der Widerwärtigkeiten und Entbehrungen, die man anzutreffen, und eine aufrichtige Schilderung des Lebens, welches in den ersten Jahren selbst der bemittelte Ankömmling zu suchen hat. Duben hat auch hier keineswegs unterlassen, auf dieses oder jenes Unangenehme, auf dieses oder jenes Hinderniß hinzudeuten; er hat sich mehrmals ausgesprochen, daß nur ein, wenn auch nur mäßiges Vermögen, Bedingung eines baldigen glücklichen Zustandes sey, daß Fleiß, Thätigkeit und Ausdauer, unerläßliche Forderungen seien, daß endlich eine ganz vereinzelt gegründet Niederlassung vom größten Nachtheil werden könne. Aber alle diese so zerstreut vorgebrachten Fingerzeige, sie werden nur zu leicht verwischt durch den Eindruck, den so viele enthusiastische Ergießungen, an andern Stellen wieder hervorbringen. Alle, vielleicht die gerechtesten Zweifel schwin-

den dem Leser, wenn er von einem Manne, der in seinen Mittheilungen im Ganzen einen gewissen steifen Ernst, eine handfest gelehrte Trockenheit gezeigt hat, Aussprüche wie die folgenden liest: „Man wird und kann es in Europa nicht glauben, wie leicht und angenehm sich in diesen Ländern leben läßt.“ „Es klingt zu fremdartig, zu fabelhaft. Der Glaube an ähnliche Derter auf der Erde, war schon zu lange in die Märchenwelt verbannt.“ Ueber solche excentrische Sätze lächeln jetzt freilich die Deutschen in Amerika; aber für sie alle gab es eine Zeit, wo sie sich mit Bitterkeit an diese und ähnliche Erhebungen erinnerten, wo sie sich und Andere mit Härte anklagten, solchen glänzenden Ausmalungen getraut zu haben.

Selbst die wahrhafte Anführung von Beispielen, wie Amerikaner in kurzer Zeit an äußerem Wohlstand zugenommen haben, wird dem fremden Einwanderer keinen richtigen Maßstab für seine eigene Zukunft abgeben. Der Amerikaner hat so ausnehmend wenig Bedürfnisse — welches weniger die Folge einer tiefen Philosophie, sondern zum Theil wenigstens die Folge eines geringeren Grades geistiger Bildung ist, — daß er schneller zu einer gewissen Wohlhabenheit und einer doch nur beziehungsweise glücklichen Stellung gelangen kann, als irgend ein eingewanderter Europäer. Was wir Behaglichkeit, Bequemlichkeit nennen, das kennt wenigstens der Bewohner dieser westlichen Gegenden **durchaus nicht**. Der wunderbare Gang der Amerikaner zu neuen ferneren Gründungen, wiewohl doch sonst ihrem Charakter alles Abentheuerliche fremd ist, überwiegt jede Rücksicht auf eine feste, annehmbare und behagliche Lage. Anhänglichkeit an irgend einen erbauten Wohnsitz, an irgend einen ihm lieb gewordenen Platz, kennt der Amerikaner gar nicht. Es ist nichts ungewöhnliches, daß eine Familie, die sich durch Fleiß und Anstrengung ein angenehmes und bequemes Leben in einem netten und geräumigen Wohnhause geschaffen, die sich die umliegenden Wälder gelichtet und die umgebenden Obstbäume selbst gepflanzt hat, nach mehr als 20jährigem Aufenthalte, und ohne alle Noth denselben verläßt, und keinen Anstand nimmt, von neuem Land urbar zu machen, und mehrere Jahre lang abgeschnitten von allem Verkehr, in einer elenden Hütte zu wohnen und alle Entbehrungen wie bei ihrem ursprünglichen Anfange von neuem zu ertragen. Der

Europäer, namentlich der Deutsche, hat Anhänglichkeit an seinen früheren Wohnsitz, und liebt eine gewisse behaglich fortdauernde Existenz. Er wird die neuen Entbehrungen zehnmal mehr empfinden, als der amerikanische Ansiedler. Es ist ihm rein unmöglich so zu leben, wie der Amerikaner lebt. Eine Lage, worin der letztere vergnügt und glücklich ist, vermag den europäischen Einwanderer in die trübste Stimmung zu versetzen. Es ist eine Täuschung, aus der Leichtigkeit wie der Amerikaner lebt, schließen zu wollen, daß der Fremde eben so leicht leben könne. Demgemäß würde der träge Indianer der glücklichste seyn, der gar keine Bedürfnisse hat, als den nothwendigsten Lebensunterhalt, und also auch keine Anstrengung kennt, um seine Wünsche zu befriedigen.

Der Amerikaner hat es nicht so leicht, er macht es sich leicht, und zwar auch in solchen Fällen, in denen es der Europäer nicht über sich bringen kann. Der Amerikaner, der nur den Augenblick erwartet, wo er mit einigem Gewinn seine Ansiedlung verkaufen kann, geht um die Arbeit zu sparen mit einer solchen Verschwendung hinsichtlich seines Bodens, seines Holzes, seiner Früchte zu Werke, wie es der Eingewanderte, dessen Absicht es in der Regel ist, für sich eine bleibende Wohnstätte, für seine Kinder einen angenehmen zukünftigen Aufenthalt zu schaffen, nie zu thun im Stande ist. Duden schweben für diese gerühmte Leichtigkeit oft wohl keine besonders gute Beispiele vor Augen. So habe ich, um nur eins anzuführen, versichern hören, daß der Amerikaner mehr Fleiß auf die Bestellung des Mais anwende, wie Duden angibt, indem er nicht nur einmal, sondern zwei und dreimal die aufgegangene Saat noch durchpflüge. Die von Duden beschriebene Weise werde nur von der leichtfertigen Klasse befolgt, die gerade so viel bauen, um nicht verhungern zu müssen, größtentheils auf und von der Jagd leben, und einige hundert Meilen weiter ziehen, wie das Wild abzunehmen beginnt. Ueberhaupt hat Duden bei den ganzen Ansiedlungsunternehmungen Eingeborene vor Augen, und eine amerikanische Ansiedlung ist es auch, welche er in seinem vierzehnten Briefe ausführlicher beschreibt. Der Europäer kann daraus noch keine Schlüsse auf sich machen, und er wird mit bei weitem mehr Widerwärtigkeiten und Hindernissen zu thun haben.

So bringt auch Duden's Darstellung leicht auf den Gedanken, als sey die Urbarmachung des Waldbodens von weniger Schwie-

rigkeit. Es sind schon viele handfeste Europäer hier hergekommen, aber alle haben es für eine Unmöglichkeit erklärt, sich mit diesem Geschäfte zu befassen. Wenn man auch gleich die dickeren Stämme stehen läßt, (doch bleibt nicht leicht einer unter zwei Fuß Durchmesser), so irrt Duden doch sehr, wenn er glaubt, daß die Sträucher und Stauden mit den Wurzeln wegzuschaffen, eine Kleinigkeit sey. Indes hindert weniger die Schwierigkeit der Arbeit, als die Gefahr vor Krankheit, die mit dem Bearbeiten und dem Aufbrechen der „unberührten, jungfräulichen Erde“ verknüpft ist. Die Regel für die Umzäunungen (fences) zu verfertigen, ist ebenfalls ein Geschäft, vor dem sich alle Europäer um so mehr scheuen, als es ihnen selten gelingt, dem Eingeborenen oder schwarzen Arbeiter in Schnelligkeit beizukommen. Wer aber, wie Duden meint, die Dichtung eines Acre mit 6 Dollar bezahlen soll, der handelt wahrlich besser, eine fertige Ansiedlung zu kaufen, auf welcher ihn der Acre, freilich gebautes und ungebrautes Land zusammengeschlagen, im Durchschnitt nicht mehr als 6 bis 8 Dollar kommen wird. Er erhält dabei auch eine freilich nur amerikanische Wohnhütte, und die nothwendigsten Wirthschafts-Gebäulichkeiten.

Ueberhaupt liegt der ganzen Dudenschen Berechnung stets die Voraussetzung zu Grunde, daß der Ansiedler sich auf Congreßland niederlasse. Der Preis ist zwar wirklich nicht bedeutend, und beträgt gegenwärtig nicht mehr wie $1\frac{1}{4}$ Dollar (Dollar = fl. 2. 30 fr.) der Acre; auch wird nach einem neuen Gesetz des Congresses schon ein Stück von 40 Acres vom Staate verkauft — doch nur nach der eidlichen Versicherung, daß man das Stück selbst und zwar sogleich unter Pultur nehmen wolle, damit hierdurch die Speculanten verhindert werden, dem weniger Bemittelten, die Kleinen guten Parzellen wegzukaufen — aber dennoch hat der Ankauf von Congreßland allein stets für den Europäer seine besondere Schwierigkeiten. Ganz abgesehen von der Unbequemlichkeit und dem Nachtheil, sich erst eine Hütte errichten, den Boden lichten und brechen, wenigstens zwei Jahre ohne alle Erndte zu bestehen, und endlich auf oder doch dicht an dem neuaufgebrochenen äußerst ungesunden Boden wohnen zu müssen, fehlen dem Fremden bei Weitem die richtigen Kennzeichen des vortheilhaften Bodens, in welcher die Amerikaner nicht zu täuschen sind. Viele kleinere Umstände, vor allem aber die Pflanzen, die dem Boden entsprossen, geben

ihm sichere Anhaltspunkte, welche der neue Ankömmlinge nicht finden wird. Wer hier nicht ganz besondere Vorsicht anwendet, läuft Gefahr, sowohl sehr ungesund, als, wenigstens vergleichungsweise, schlechtes Land zu kaufen, wie denn auch wirklich die Amerikaner den Deutschen besonders den Vorwurf machen, daß sie in der Auswahl des Landes sehr unglücklich seyen. Seit Dudens Abwesenheit hat sich indeß auch Vieles hinsichtlich des Congreßlandes geändert, was zu andern Ansichten und Entschlüssen bringen muß. Vorzüglich sucht man die Thäler der Flüsse (Bottoms), und namentlich der größeren schiffbaren Flüsse, und in den Prairiegenden, die Strecken, welche an Waldungen grenzen. Ich bin aber sowohl im Missouri als Illinois versichert worden, daß an diesen gewünschten Plätzen, vor allem im Missouribottom bis hinauf nach Boone und Howard-County, kein unbefetztes Staatsgut mehr sey. Theils ist vieles schon Eigenthum fleißiger Pflanzler, theils sind aber auch ungeheure Striche in den Händen von Speculanten, oder Anbauern, die noch kein Eigenthum erworben haben, besetzt. Solche Ansiedler vom unbezahlten Congreßland wegzudrängen, verbietet eben sowohl Menschenfreundlichkeit als allgemeine Sitte, und zudem sind die meisten von ihnen doch im Stande, nöthigenfalls das Land zu bezahlen, und nach dem Gesetz genießen sie noch das Vorkaufsrecht. Mit welcher klugen Berechnung die schlechten Stücke alle liegen geblieben sind, ist kaum zu glauben. Wer noch unbeschränkte Wahl hat, wählt sich gewöhnlich so, daß er entweder ein Stück Wald bekommt, an welches große Prairien grenzen, die er dann für lange Zeit benutzen kann, da bei Mangel an Wald in der Nähe, die Prairie nicht gesucht wird; oder daß er eine kleine Prairie erhält, die vom Wald umfränzt wird, da Wald allein auch wieder selten gesucht wird. Man kann mit ziemlicher Gewißheit aussprechen, daß in den Staaten der Union, nicht in den Gebieten, die vor der Hand wenigstens den Einwanderern theils wegen ihrer Lage, theils wegen ihrer indianischen Bevölkerung, nicht rathsam sind, gutes Congreßland schon selten ist, am meisten aber natürlich in den Gegenden, die schon angebaute sind. Aber grade diese angebaute Gegenden haben für den europäischen Einwanderer, der oft so viel Theures verlassen mußte, den meisten Werth, den größten Reiz. Der abentheuerliche Franzose, der als Salbkultivirter sich unter

Indianerstämmen herumtreibt, der stets neues und noch fruchtbareres Land, oder mehr Hirsche und Truthühner suchende Amerikaner, sie mögen an den äussersten Grenzen die Vorläufer der Kultur seyn, die meisten Europäer hingegen, vor Allen der Deutsche, wird sich im fruchtbarsten Boden unglücklich fühlen, wenn er auf lange Zeit, vielleicht für immer, den meisten Bequemlichkeiten des Lebens, jedem freundschaftlichen geselligen Umgang entsagen soll. Je weiter von großen Städten, Flüssen oder Kanälen entfernt, je geringer wird für den Landwirth auch der Absatz seyn, je weniger wird sich für ihn, und die nächsten Nachkommen sein Fleiß und seine Entsagung belohnen. Keine von den vielen Familien, die Europa verließen, dachten an etwas anderes, als an große Ankäufe von Staatsland. Ich kann versichern, daß ich keine getroffen habe, die der gebildeteren Klasse angehörte, die zuerst oder ausschließlich Congreßland gekauft hat. Sie zogen bescheidene, schon gegründete Ansiedlungen den ungemeßen fruchtbaren Regionen vor, die meist nur noch in Büchern billig zu haben sind.

Wohl weiß ich, daß man auch gegen diese Abgeschiedenheit und die daraus entstehende Unbequemlichkeit des Einzelnen mit wohlgemeinten Rathschlägen nicht ausblieb. Man müsse sich zu Gesellschaften, zu geschlossenen Vereinen bilden, sich nach einem Punkte hinwenden, in Gemeinschaft große Strecken ankaufen, Schulen, Städte, Universitäten u. s. w. gründen, und nach weniger Zeit werde ein neues, schönes, gesellschaftliches Land die Einwanderer umschlungen haben, eine neue Heimath werde verjüngt erblühen, und des früheren Landes Cultur und Gesittung werde veredelt und geläutert fortbestehen. Auch Duden deutet auf so einen Plan hin, und theilt uns selbst die Ordnungen und Grundsätze mit, die eine solche Gesellschaft nach seiner Ansicht leiten und beherrschen sollen. (Ueber die Natur der nordamerikanischen Freistaaten, S. 324. Anhang zu diesem Briefe), „um,“ wie er sich ausdrückt, „der spöttelnden Flachheit zu zeigen, daß nicht von lustigen Plänen die Rede ist.“ Man pflegt gewöhnlich die Richtigkeit von Unternehmungen nach deren Erfolgen zu beurtheilen, und wenn ich mir dieß hier erlaube, so kann Dudens Plan, wenn auch gerade nicht für einen lustigen, doch wenigstens für ziemlich unausführbar gelten. Wenn man so hinter seinen vier Wänden

sigt, dünkt es einem rein unmöglich, wie das nicht Alles so oder so gemacht werden könne, man kann den Einwurf der Unausführbarkeit gar nicht begreifen. Nach Erscheinung des Duden'schen Berichtes hatte man in Deutschland nichts Eiligeres zu thun, als Auswanderungsgesellschaften nach angegebenen Plänen zu gründen. Es fehlte nicht an guten und wie es schien billigen Grundstücken, — ebensowenig schienen die Zwecke unausführbar. Keine von allen diesen Gesellschaften hat hier in Amerika Stand gehalten! Gewöhnlich wurden die Mitglieder, obgleich sie vielleicht Jahrelang vorher mit den Verkündigern des gelobten Landes correspondirt hatten, von einer Menge neuer Verhältnisse und unbekannter Erscheinungen überrascht, so daß sie gar nicht mehr wußten, an was sie sich halten sollten oder nicht. Frühere Verpflichtungen erschienen unter dem neuen Lichte einer völligen Freiheit und Gleichheit, und bei dem gänzlichen Aufhören einer Rangordnung oder Dienstabhängigkeit, unbillig und wurden zerissen. Die Meisten fanden die ergriffenen Maßregeln, wenn auch im allgemeinen noch für ausführbar, doch jetzt für sich, und den vorliegenden Fall unpassend, zweifelten an der Fähigkeit oder Aufrichtigkeit ihrer Commissaire, Spediteure oder Vorsteher, und lösten sich meist unter Zwist und Hader, dem Reime zu neuen Unannehmlichkeiten und Zerwürfnissen, denen man gerade entlohen zu seyn glaubte, so rasch als möglich auf. Zu verschieden sind die Interessen, welche die Auswanderer zu ihrem Entschlusse bewegen, zu gemischt in Hinsicht auf Bildung und Charakter sind die Glieder solcher Gesellschaften, als daß man von ihnen erwarten dürfte, sie würden in einer festen, zum gemeinschaftlichen Nutzen geschlossenen Organisation beharren. Nur religiösen Schwärmern, oder doch solchen, welche die Religion als Deckmantel für ihre Absichten um sich warfen, ist es bis jetzt gelungen, eine Schaar von unmündigen Gläubigen um sich versammelt zu erhalten, und durch Glaube das aneinander zu ketten, was sich durch billige und vernünftige Principien noch nicht halten ließ. Es ist hier wohlbekannt, daß in der neuesten Zeit in Deutschland einige wackere Männer mit dem Gedanken umgehen, in geschlossenen Massen nach einem Punkte der vereinigten Staaten sich hinzuwenden, um einen neuen Staat zu gründen, in dem vorzugsweise deutsche Sitte und ein dieser Sitte entsprechendes Recht sich feststellen und bewahren sol-

len. Es liegen zwei Schriftchen vor mir, die von diesem Vereine ehrenwerther Männer ausgegangen sind, und die beabsichtigen, die Gleichgesinnten zur Bildung eines neuen deutschen Staates, eines verjüngten Deutschlands im Arkansasgebiete aufzufordern.¹ Ich will nichts über den Plan sprechen, (Censurücke. Es hieß: An die Stelle des veralteten Vaterlandes ein neues, wieder-geborenes hinaustellen, die politisch und menschlich würdige Stellung einzunehmen, welche anderwärts untersagt ist, hier am Mississippi eine geltende Stimme . . . [Reist unleserlich und unzusammenhängend, am Rande mit Bleistift geschrieben und z. T. vom Buchbinder beschnitten]. Eine Erörterung dieser Art würde den Zweck meiner Mittheilungen zu sehr erweitern. Ich will ebensovienig meine Ansichten über die Ausführbarkeit oder Unausführbarkeit dieses Entwurfs hier folgen lassen, um so weniger, als die Männer, welche an die Spitze getreten sind, Mittel an Händen haben, die genauesten und sichersten Angaben über die westlichen Staaten, besonders aber über das in Frage stehende Gebiet zu erfahren. Ich will vielmehr annehmen, alle folgenden Colonisationsversuche in Masse gelängen, so werden doch die Glieder solcher mehr oder minder großen Associationen mindestens für die ersten Jahre, einen Unterschied in den Entbehrungen und Unannehmlichkeiten mit dem Einzelnen verglichen nicht sonderlich empfinden. Auf äußere Gestaltung des Landes, des Klimas und dessen Einwirkungen hat ohnehin das Zusammenseyn in größerer Zahl keinen Einfluß. Es ist daher auch unter der Voraussetzung, daß keine einzelne Gründungsversuche gemacht werden, immer noch rathsam, aufrichtig und ohne Hehl mit allen drohenden Uebeln bekannt zu machen, und den täuschenden Duft von allzu zauberischen Gemälden abzuwischen. Was ich indeß hier von den bis jetzt unternommenen Ansiedlungsgesellschaften bemerkt habe, bringt dem Satze keinen Eintrag, daß es sehr angenehm sey, in der Nähe von Freunden und Landsleuten sich anzusiedeln, und daß so freundliche Nachbarn die Amerikaner auch immer seyn mögen, zu einem baldigen Genuß der besseren Stellung an dem neuen Wohnort, unbedingt ein Zu-

¹ Aufforderung an deutsche Auswanderer zu einer größeren gemeinschaftlichen Ansiedlung in den Freistaaten von Nordamerika. Gießen, 1833. Zweite Aufforderung und Erklärung im Betreff einer Auswanderung im Großen. Gießen, 1833.

sammenleben mit denen gehört, die gleiche Erinnerungen, gleiche Schmerzen und gleiche Freuden, zu einem geistigeren und herzlicheren Umgang allein fähig machen.

Es ist möglich, daß Dudens Berichte vielleicht bei Manchen die Ansicht erregt haben, als sey außer für eine sorgenlose und behagliche Lage, hier auch der Ort, sich schnell große Reichthümer zu erwerben. Sollte einer oder der andere diesen Gedanken gefaßt haben, so bitte ich ihn recht sehr, sich dieser Einbildungen ja recht bald zu entschlagen. Namentlich wird der Landwirth, wie leicht er sich auch eine bei weitem glücklichere und unabhängigere Lage als in seiner früheren Heimath verschaffen kann, durch den bloßen Feldbau, bei dem hohen Arbeitslohn, den niedrigen Preisen der Gegenstände, die er producirt, und dem theuern Preise aller Sachen, welche er kaufen muß, keine Schätze sammeln. Seine nie trügende Speculation vermag zwar gewiß hier noch mehr in die Höhe zu bringen, als in der alten Welt, aber nur wenigen Köpfen ist eine solche richtige Berechnung eigen und unglückliche Versuche sind hier ebenso nachtheilig wie anderwärts. Wer sich auf Feldbau legt, und für die meisten Ansiedler wird ja der Fall eintreten, muß in den ersten Jahren lediglich auf Zuliegen rechnen, um so mehr, als ihm die Einrichtung der besten amerikanischen Ansiedlung, die er etwa kauft, nicht genügen wird. Handwerker finden meiner Ansicht nach hier den meisten Gewinn, der mit dem Erwerb, welchen andere Berufsarten bringen, in gar keinem Vergleich steht. An Aerzten ist in den östlichen Staaten Ueberfluß, selbst im „fernen Westen“ kein Mangel. St. Louis, eine Stadt von 8—10,000 Einwohner, zählte vor einiger Zeit deren etwa 60.

Für Kaufleute bieten allerdings diese neu aufgeschlossenen Gegenden, die von den besten Wasserstraßen der Welt durchschnitten sind, einen ungeheuren Spielraum; doch wird der fremde Handelsmann bei Unkenntniß der hiesigen Produkte, deren Quellen und Absatzplätze, bei der Unsicherheit der meisten amerikanischen Handelsleute, und endlich bei der Verschiedenheit der Art und Weise des hiesigen Handelsbetriebs, welches freilich dem gelehrten Duden nicht auffiel, einen sehr schweren Standpunkt erhalten. Der Rechtsgelehrte müßte nothwendig erst nicht nur vollkommen die Sprache und die Rechte des Landes erlernen, sondern auch tief in die Sitten und den Geist des Volkes eindrin-

gen, wenn er anders den zungenfertigen und praktischen Advokaten entgegentreten, wenn er anders zu dem Herzen und der Ueberzeugung der Geschworenen, die auch in Civilsachen ihre Stimme abgeben, sprechen wollte. An Duden, der doch selbst Rechtsgelehrter war, fällt es auf, daß er von den amerikanischen Advokaten behauptet, rhetorischer Wortschwall sey ihnen fremd. (29ster Brief.) Dieser Schluß, der ganz schulmäßig aus dem allgemeinen Charakter der Amerikaner gezogen ist, wird keineswegs durch die Erfahrung bestätigt. Es ist jedem fremden Rechtsgelehrten auffallend, mit wie wenig Rücksicht auf das grade vorliegende Gesetz, dessen Auslegung oder Anwendbarkeit gesprochen wird, und daß vielmehr hauptsächlich auf das, was man gefunden Menschenverstand zu nennen pflegt, und auf moralische, nicht rechtliche Ueberzeugung zu wirken gesucht wird. Der eigentliche Gelehrte ist hier im Westen, wo die Wissenschaften noch ganz in ihrer Wiege liegen, nie ihrer selbst, sondern nur desjenigen willen, was dem allerbegrenztesten praktischen Leben Nutzen bringt, behandelt werden, gar nicht zu Hause. Er wird hier, wo nur die physischen Kräfte von Werth und Ertrag sind, eine bemitleidenswerthe Rolle spielen, und sich und andern zum Ueberdruße werden.

Einzelne kleine Verschönerungen Dudens hinsichtlich des leichten und reichlichen Lebens des Pflanzers, mögen nur ganz kurz berührt werden. Daß die Hausthiere ohne alle Spende überwintern können, ist beinahe nie der Fall, und würde sich durch den schlechten Zustand, ja das Wegsterben der Thiere sehr bestrafen. Darreichen von Futter geschieht also nicht, wie Duden meint, mehr um sie an den Ort zu fesseln, sondern ganz einfach deswegen, damit sie nicht verhungern. So werden auch die Hirsche meist gegessen und nicht liegen gelassen, wie er meint; denn was der Jäger nicht verzehrt, bekommen die Nachbarn, die sehr dankbar dafür sind. Es gibt zwar allerdings amerikanische Pflanzler, die so leidenschaftlich der Jagd obliegen, daß sie die von Duden angegebene Art wohl öfter ausüben, allein von solchen indianischen Müßiggängern kann man nicht auf die Mehrzahl schließen. Auch hat man mich im Illinois und Missouri versichert, daß die Truthühner selten die Schwere von 15 Pfund erreichten, und daß man sehr gerne dergleichen auch unter 12 und 10 Pfund nehme. Ich führe diese Unbedeutendheiten nur an, um zu zeigen, wie lebhaft

oft des Berichterstatters Pinsel malt, auf zwei Gegenstände aber, die zwar von Duden auch besprochen sind, aber in seiner gewöhnlichen Weise, will ich noch etwas aufmerksam machen, nemlich auf die Mousquitos-Plage und den Mangel an irgend einer fremden Hülfe in den Feld- und häuslichen Geschäften.

Freilich sind die Mousquitos nichts anders, als deutsche Schnaden, *culex pipiens*, wie Duden sagt, aber diese *culex pipiens* ist an den Ufern der Flüsse, in der Nähe der Kanäle, Sümpfe und feuchten Wiesen in solcher ungeheuren Menge in den neuen Ländern zu treffen, daß an ein ausreichendes Schutzmittel nicht gedacht werden kann. Die gegen diese Insekten am meisten abgehärteten früheren Bewohner der Rheinniederungen, fanden doch hier diese Plage beinahe unerträglich. Nur wer durch einen Mousquitair, einen Vorhang von Gaze geschützt ist, darf auf nicht schlaflose Nächte rechnen. Gewöhnlich erzeugen die Stiche eine Art von brennendem Ausschlag, der ebenso entstellend als schmerzhaft ist. Diese Mousquitos sind eine stehende Sommer-, ja oft Herbstplage, und werden nur mit der Richtung der ungeheuren Waldungen und dem Austrocknen der vielen stehenden Gewässer abnehmen, in den Bottoms der Flüsse aber nie ganz verschwinden. Sie sind keine seltene Erscheinung, wie Duden meint, für deren Entstehen man sich lange um Erklärungen zu bemühen braucht. St. Louis ist nicht frei von diesen Quälgeistern, wie aus dem 23-ten Briefe hervorzugehen scheint, sondern vielmehr ihr Lieblingsaufenthalt und Hauptummelplatz.

Der Mangel an Bedienung aber ist eine der hauptsächlichsten Unannehmlichkeiten, denen sich der Einwanderer aussetzen muß. Der Erfolg hat gezeigt und zeigt noch täglich, wie wenig in Europa abgeschlossene Dienstverträge hier gehalten werden. Wer helfende Leute mitbringt, die nicht durch persönliche Zuneigung an ihn oder an die Familie gefesselt sind, darf gewiß sehn, in den ersten Monaten schon allein dazustehen. Der Mangel an Händen ist besonders in den westlichen Gegenden zu fühlbar, als daß nicht der rüstige Arbeiter Bedingungen angeboten bekäme, denen der Auswanderer, der nicht leicht ohne beträchtliche finanzielle Opfer sein Vaterland verlassen konnte, keine gleichen entgegenstellen kann. Nun ist es zwar hier, wie in Deutschland auch, nothwendig, daß der Landwirth wohl überall selbst Hand anlege und sich nicht

bloß auf eine allgemeine Oberaufsicht beschränke. Aber der Geschäfte gibt es hier so tausenderlei, der amerikanische Landmann muß sich so vielerlei verrichten, was er in Europa um geringen Preis gefertigt hätte erhalten können, er muß in den meisten Fällen sich selbst Handwerksmann sehn, so daß er auch, selbst wenn die eigentliche Feldarbeit noch weniger Schwierigkeit machte, als meistens geglaubt wird, nicht gut allein fertig werden kann. Ist die Familie gar groß und sind der rüstigen Glieder nicht viele, so ist wirklich die Lage der Eingewanderten, besonders der Frauen äußerst unangenehm. Ich habe Familien getroffen, die bloß aus dem einzigen Grunde, weil sie keine Hülfe erhalten konnten, auf der Stelle zu ihrer früheren Heimath zurückgekehrt wären, wenn es ihnen anders noch möglich gewesen wäre. Nun bleibt zwar der Ausweg übrig, sich Sklaven zu kaufen, aber dazu gehört ein beträchtliches Vermögen, da unter 500 Dollars nicht leicht ein Sklave zu haben ist, und dann ist auch dieser Ausweg ein Weg, den ein Mann von Redlichkeit und Ehre nie betreten wird. Wir können die Bewohner der Provinzen, in welchen die Sklaverei gesetzlich besteht, nur bedauern, dieses von ihren Eltern und Ureltern eingepflanzte Vorurtheil, welches ihrem Interesse zu entsprechen scheint, noch nicht von sich geworfen zu haben, die neuen Ankömmlinge aber, die diesem Grundsatz huldigen, und denen doch von Jugend auf vor dieser groben und empörenden Art des Sklaventhums Abscheu eingeflößt worden ist, denen Allmacht des Vorurtheils und jahrhundertlange Gewöhnung nicht zu einiger Entschuldigung gereicht, muß man verachten, und doppelt und dreifach verachten, wenn sie mit der Lüge hier auftreten, als habe ihre politische Ueberzeugung sie gezwungen, den republikanischen Boden Amerikas zu betreten. Zur Ehre der im Missouri lebenden Deutschen sei es gesagt, daß noch keiner von ihnen Sklaven gekauft hat, doch hätten sie besser gethan, diesen Sklavenstaat zu meiden; denn wovor sie vielleicht noch eine Scheu haben, wird ihren Kindern und Enkeln nicht mehr verabscheuungswerth vorkommen, und Macht der Gewohnheit und der Umgebung wird auch sie abstumpfen und zu trägen Herren unglücklicher Knechte machen.

Aber auch dieser „Ausweg der Unehre“ steht nur in den Ländern südlich des Ohio und in dem Missouri-Staat offen, indem glücklicherweise die andern Staaten dem Principe des Egois-

mus und der Unmenschlichkeit nicht huldigen. Die Länder Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, die in so vielen Beziehungen Vorzüge vor dem Missouri-Staat haben, müssen dann von der Ansiedlung ausgeschlossen bleiben. Außer dem Vortheil einer bei weitem größeren Kultur und der daraus entstehenden Bequemlichkeiten, eines weit regeren und heftigeren Lebens, größtentheils Folge der Abschaffung der Sklaverei, sind auch die genannten Staaten in Hinsicht auf den Feldbau vorzuziehen.

Im Missouri ist hauptsächlich nur der Botton des Missouri-Flusses bewohnt, welcher, wie Duden selbst gestehen muß, der Gesundheit äußerst nachtheilig ist. Die andern Gegenden sind theils hügelig, theils sind es ungeheure Prairien, die aber keineswegs zu den besonders fruchtbaren gehören. Es ist Dudens größter Irrthum, daß er die Länder westlich des Mississippi vorzugsweise Waldländer nennt. (30ster Brief.) Nur die Flußthäler, die aber doch im Verhältnisse zur ganzen Oberfläche des Landes beinahe verschwinden, sind mit dichtem Walde bedeckt. Wenige Meilen vom Flusse hört die Waldung auf und die Prairiegegend fängt an, die anfangs noch mit Gehölz untermischt vorkömmt, sich aber bald zu einer ungeheuren Ebene ausdehnt, die sich über tausend Meilen weit bis an den Fuß der Felsengebirge erstreckt. Freilich wohnen die jetzigen Anbauer des Missouri-Staates meist noch in dichten Wäldern, weil sie im Thale und auf den nächsten den Fluß umgebenden Höhen sich angesiedelt haben, aber ein Berichtstatter, wie Duden, hätte doch ein Weniges weiter ins Land hinein sehen sollen. Westlich des Mississippi herrschen nicht die Wälder vor (30ster Brief), sondern gerade umgekehrt die Prairien. Wer auf Dudens Berichte sich lediglich gestützt hat, wird sich nicht wenig wundern, wenn er Stellen wie die folgenden in einem der besten amerikanischen Schriftsteller über Geographie und Statistik findet: „Das größte Hinderniß im Missouri für die Art, wie man jetzt den Landbau betreibt, ist der Mangel an guten Materialien zu Umzäunungen. Wenn nicht Wälder angelegt werden, so wird bald ein gänzlicher Mangel an zureichendem Holz zu einer Umzäunung eintreten. Wenn die Bebauer dieses Landes ihren wahren Vortheil verstehen, werden sie sogleich anfangen Hecken zu pflanzen.“ — Ferner: „Die Anpflanzung der weißen Alleghani-Fichte und

der Raftanie sollten Gegenstände unmittelbarer Aufmerksamkeit seyn. Die Spärlichkeit von Brenn- und Bauholz verlangen gebieterisch von denen, die nur irgend einen Gedanken für die künftigen Generationen haben, auf diese Art von Verbesserung Acht zu haben.“¹ Duden gehe an den Illinois, Sangamon, Kaskaskia im Staate Illinois, und er wird in dem Lande, von dem er glaubt, daß es eine weite Savannenstrecke sey, Wälder genug finden. Freilich sind auch unermeßliche Prairien hier, aber sie sind ohne Vergleich und anerkannt fruchtbarer, als die des Missouri, wie denn überhaupt Illinois unbedingt das fruchtbarste Land der vereinigten Staaten ist. Krankheiten ist es nicht mehr ausgesetzt, als alle westlichen neuen Länder, und der Ruf seiner Ungesundheit ist lediglich dem Umstande zuzuschreiben, daß die ersten Einwanderer (die Franzosen) sich nicht im Innern niederließen, sondern in dem bekannten Stück des Mississippi-Flußthales, American Bottom, der denn freilich für die unendlichen Gaben seiner Fruchtbarkeit des Menschen edelstes Gut, seine Gesundheit rückfordert.

Es bleibt mir nach diesen Erörterungen jetzt nur noch ein Gegenstand der Besprechung übrig, auf welcher Stufe nelmlich in der nordamerikanischen Republik besonders aber in den neuen westlichen Staaten die geistige und politisch-sittliche Ausbildung stehe, und welche Anforderung auf Befriedigung geistiger Genüsse der gebildete Einwanderer allenfalls stellen könne. Wer Amerika nur als einen Zufluchts- und Rettungsort gegen Nahrungsorgen und harten leiblichen Druck betrachten muß, für den wird freilich eine solche Beurtheilung, wenn auch gerade nicht ohne alles Interesse, doch ohne irgend ein Gewicht in seinen Bestimmungen und Entschlüssen seyn; wer aber dort Raum für eine freie eben sowohl geistige als physische Bewegung und Entwicklung sucht, der wird sich diese Frage gewiß aufstellen und jeder Beantwortung, sie gehe aus von wem sie wolle, einige Aufmerksamkeit schenken.

Von einem Volke, welches weder durch eine geistliche noch weltliche Herrschaft auf seinem Entwicklungsgange gehemmt wird, welches täglich durch neue Einwanderungen aus allen Theilen Europas an Wachsthum zunimmt, welches von drückenden Nahrungsorgen weniger gehemmt, zu einer geistigeren Ausbildung geeigneter und aufgelegter ist, von einem solchen Volke muß eine

¹ Flintz angeführtes Werk, Bd. 1, 2te Ausg. Seite 290, 291.

Charakterisirung des jemaligen gegenwärtigen sittlichen und wissenschaftlichen Zustandes nur von vorübergehender Wahrheit und Treue, nur von vorübergehendem Interesse und Werthe seyn. So undankbar die Mühe ist, von den Nordamerikanischen Freistaaten ausführliche Topographien und Statistiken zu bearbeiten, da beinahe mit jedem Tage dem unbebauten Waldboden Städte oder doch wenigstens ihre Anfänge entsteigen, da kein Jahr vergeht, wo nicht neue Wasserstraßen und Eisenbahnen dem Handel und dem Verkehr andere und neue Verbindungswege eröffnen, in weniger Zeit, aus früher nur von indianischen Stämmen durchstreiften Gebieten, geschlossene und rührige Staaten entstehen, kaum gebildete Staaten in einigen Jahren den alten an Volkszahl, Reichthum und politischer Macht gleich kommen; so wenig lohnend würde eine Lösung der Aufgabe seyn, die sittlich wissenschaftliche Stellung der Freistaaten Nordamerikas erschöpfend auszuführen. Diese Erkenntniß, noch mehr aber der eigentliche Zweck dieser wenigen Bogen, mögen mich entschuldigen, wenn ich nur in ganz flüchtigen Zügen, ein Gemälde dieser geistig politischen Lage der Republikaner zu entwerfen versuche.

So zahlreich auch in den Staaten Nordamerikas, selbst schon in den westlichen Ländern die Anstalten für Erziehung und geistige Ausbildung sind, so viele Gymnasien (Colleges), Seminarien, Universtitäten, für die höhere Bildung berechnet, in jedem Staate sich befinden, und noch täglich gegründet werden, so darf man doch daraus keineswegs auf den Standpunkt der Wissenschaft schließen. Der eigentlichen Universtitäten gibt es zu viele, als daß nicht die vorzüglichen Lehrtalente zu zersplittert würden, und ihre Einrichtung ist noch zu sehr die Nachahmung der mittelalterlichen klösterlichen Stiftungen Alt-Englands, als daß von ihnen eine freie allseitige Ausbildung erwartet werden könnte. Die Vorbereitungs- oder Mittelschulen sind aber trotz ihrer glänzenden Namen weit mehr für einen reichlichen Erwerb des einzelnen Privatunternehmers, als für eine tüchtige allgemeine Volksbildung berechnet. Nur in einigen der älteren Staaten, und dem jungen OhioStaate, der sich überhaupt mit überraschender Kraft und Schnelligkeit entwickelt, ist ein geordnetes und der Regierung anvertrautes Gemeinshawesen, nach dem Vorbilde Massachusetts, eingerichtet. Weniger Mangel an Interesse für eine tüchtige Er-

ziehung, als vielmehr eine republicanische Angstlichkeit, daß man der Regierung so wenig als möglich zu regieren gebe, ist die Ursache, daß die meisten Schulanstalten bis jetzt noch Privatunternehmungen sind, und ihre Zwecke nur gar wenig erreichen. Noch mehr aber als die mangelhafte Einrichtung des Schulunterrichts hindert und hemmt der den Amerikaner und noch mehr den Einwanderer beseelende Gedanke, recht bald sein gutes Auskommen und ein behagliches Leben zu gewinnen. Die Wissenschaft wird beinahe lediglich dem Erwerb untergeordnet und nur so weit betrieben, als sie ihm dient. Da schon mittelmäßige Regsamkeit und spärliches Wissen in diesen Ländern die Existenz sichern, um so leichter tritt der Fall ein, daß nur oberflächlich an höhere Kenntnisse gestreift wird. Freilich entgeht der Amerikaner wie nicht leicht irgend ein anderer der Pedanterie und gelehrter Verschrobенheit, aber er bleibt auch auf der andern Seite ebensofern der reinen Freude, welche die Wissenschaften bei einem tieferen Eindringen ihren Anhängern gewähren. Es bedarf für dieses Urtheil keiner großen Beweisführungen. Ich bin wahrhaftig nicht der Erste, dem dieser Mangel einer ächt wissenschaftlichen Bildung, und also auch so mannigfaltiger Genüsse, welche ein näheres Zusammenseyn mit unterrichteten und geistvollen Männern bringt, aufgefallen wäre. Und wer weiß es nicht, wie wenig wir den Amerikanern auf dem Gebiete des Wissens verdanken? Die Forschungen und Entdeckungen ausgenommen, die sie in Physik, Technik und Nautik etwa gemacht haben, alles Wissenschaften, die vorzugsweise dem praktischen Leben dienen, sind ihre wissenschaftlichen Anstrengungen von nicht großer Bedeutung. Nur große Unkenntniß, oder unberantwortliche Partheilichkeit, kann daher über das geistige Leben in den Freistaaten, worunter doch zum Theil wenigstens ein durch Wissenschaften veredeltes und geläutertes mitbegriffen wird, Ausprüche billigen, wie wir sie in Duden's 29stem Briefe finden, wo er folgendes über diesen Gegenstand bemerkt: „Es ist ein lächerliches Selbstlob, wenn die Deutschen behaupten, daß unter ihnen mehr geistiges Leben sey, als in Nordamerika. Die Amerikaner können den Deutschen diese Entschädigung im Gebiete der Einbildung wohl nachsehen; ich aber halte mich verpflichtet, die Sache beim rechten Namen zu nennen. Nur in Deutschland kann man solche Gedanken äußern, ohne ver-

spottet zu werden.“ Ferner: „Wenn dergleichen einer Widerlegung werth wäre, so bedürfte es nur einer Sindeutung auf die alten asiatischen und egyptischen Colonien am Mittelmeer, und vorzüglich auf das herrliche Gedeihen der Griechen in Italien.“ Ferner: „Wer aber sagt, daß in Amerika das materielle Leben die Kräfte zu sehr beschäftigt, der lerne das Land, wovon er spricht, besser kennen, und verwechsle die Lage der ersten Colonisten nicht mit dem Verhältnisse eines heutigen Ansiedlers mitten in einem nach allen Richtungen von Poststraßen durchschnittenen Raume.“ Solche kurz hingeworfene absprechende Sätze sollen mich nicht schrecken, das Gegentheil zu behaupten, noch weniger aber die im Hintergrunde gedrohte Sindeutung auf asiatische, egyptische und griechische Colonien. So wenig, wie alle Völker ohne erst durch die Schule der Wissenschaften gegangen zu seyn, zu einer reinen ideellen Kunst sich erhoben, wie es zum Beispiel den glücklichen Griechen gelang, so wenig haben alle Völker eine gleiche Fähigkeit zu wissenschaftlicher Entwicklung und geistiger Ausbildung. Zudem ist gar wohl bekannt, daß die Colonisation bei den alten Völkern auf eine ganz andere Weise sich begab wie in den späteren Zeiten. Bei ihnen war Auswanderung und Ansiedlung in andern Ländern Folge politischer Erkenntniß und wurde mit ganz anderer Umsicht und Besonnenheit ausgeführt, wie jetzt. Es waren diese Colonien Auswanderungen irgend eines bestimmten Stammes, keine Zusammensetzungen aus Völkern aller Länder Europas. Solche Züge brachten Kunst und Wissenschaft, in der Blüthe mit, in welchen sie in der Heimath standen, und hegten und pfl egten sie mit so mehr Sorgfalt, als sie von ihrem theuren Mutterlande abgeschnittener waren. Bei einem so ausgebildeten Slavenwesen, wie es die Alten hatten, war nicht daran zu denken, daß das „Materielle Leben“ die besten Kräfte hätte in Anspruch nehmen müssen, und ungehindert konnte sich in den neuen Pflanzungen die Größe und Bildung entwickeln, worauf Duden anspielt. Abgesehen davon, daß man die Amerikaner, selbst die Bewohner der fünf östlichen Staaten, des sogenannten Neuenglands, nicht als Nachkömmlinge eines Volkes, der Britten, betrachten kann, wie die eifrigsten Vaterlandsfreunde beim Ausbruche des Unabhängigkeitskrieges selbst aufs schärfste bewiesen, und daß man also von keiner für alle vorgefundenen Geschichte und Literatur sprechen

kann, gehörten die frühesten Einwanderer und die meisten zugleich, zu einer gedrückten, und an Bildung meist nachstehenden Klasse in Europa, zu einer Klasse, die aber gerade vorzugsweise durch den Druck das lebendigste und glühendste Gefühl für Unabhängigkeit und Freiheit erhalten hatte. Sie verließen meistens ihr Vaterland zu einer Zeit, wo höhere Bildung ein Vorrecht der Reichen und Mächtigen war, und wo die Künste und Wissenschaften lediglich der Aristokratie und Hierarchie dienten. Kein Wunder, daß in dieser Zeit ein tiefer Haß bei den Gedrückten gegen Gegenstände Wurzel faßte, die an und für sich schätzenswerth und ehrwürdig sind. Und diesen eingewurzelten Haß gegen Alles, was Glanz des Geistes, Feinheit der Bildung hieß, brachten die neuen Einwanderer, die kaum dem Kerker oder dem Senkerstode entflohen waren, ganz mit herüber über den Ocean und vererbten ihn auf Kinder und Enkel. Es dauerte lange, ehe man wieder zur wahren Einsicht und Unterscheidung kam, aber Niemand wird leugnen, daß die scharfe und abstoßend streng religiöse und politische Ansichten der früheren Bewohner den Fortschritt der Künste und Wissenschaften gehemmt haben und der genauere Beobachter wird noch jetzt in dem sauern und rigoristischen Wesen so mancher Sekten, namentlich der im Westen so verbreiteten Methodisten ein der geistigen Auszubildung widerstrebendes Element erblicken.

Gilt nun mein Urtheil über den Zustand der wissenschaftlichen Bildung von allen, so gilt es noch ganz besonders von den südlichen und westlichen Staaten. Die ersteren verdanken die geringe Stufe ihrer Auszubildung vorzüglich dem Sklavensystem, vielleicht auch, doch ich wage es nicht zu entscheiden, zum Theil der drückenden, die Denkkraft fesselnden Hitze. Es wäre sonderbar, wenn man für den Westen die Gründe für eine weniger hohe geistige Stellung nicht ganz einfach gerade in der Ursache suchen sollte, daß der neue Ansiedler, und aus neuen Ansiedlern besteht die Bevölkerung jetzt, zu sehr von dem materiellen Leben in Anspruch genommen werde. Er, und was wegen den Nachwirkungen noch bedeutender ist, seine Kinder müssen sich, selbst wenn auch der Vermögenszustand nicht unbedeutend ist, bei der Schwierigkeit sich dienende Hülfe zu verschaffen, beinahe lediglich auf den Feldbau und die häuslichen Verrichtungen wenden. Grade, wer das Land besser kennen lernen will, wie Duden es

wünscht, wird sehen, wie wenig Zeit der Landmann für geistige Ausbildung sowohl für sich, als seine Kinder findet, und wird an der Unkenntniß der sonst so vernünftigen und hellsehenden Ansiedler in wissenschaftlicher Hinsicht den besten Beweis finden. Die entgegengesetzte Behauptung eines Deutschen ist um so lächerlicher, als es den Amerikanern (denen ich weit entfernt bin Fähigkeit, sich wissenschaftlich auszubilden, in geringerem Grade als andern Völkern zuzusprechen), wohl bewußt ist, wie sehr der Westen an Bildung den östlichen Staaten und allen gebildeten Ländern nachsteht. Würde es nicht die Grenzen dieser Beleuchtung überschreiten, so könnte ich die Verhandlungen der letzten jährlichen Zusammenkunft einer literarischen Gesellschaft in Cincinnati,¹ und eine gediegene und würdige Adresse dieser Gesellschaft an alle Freunde des Unterrichts, worin eben so klar, als wahr der Mangel genügender wissenschaftlicher Bildung auseinander gesetzt, als auch die Mittel zur Verbesserung angegeben werden,² den Lesern mittheilen. Nur der Anfang dieser Adresse möge zum Beweise meiner Angabe folgen: „Die Erziehung steht bei uns noch auf einer sehr niedrigen Stufe. Wir mühten uns einer vorsätzlichen und niedrigen Schmeichelei anklagen, wollten wir anders reden. Die Erfahrung von uns Allen bezeugt diesen Umstand. Jede andere Kunst oder jedes andere Gewerbe hat größere Vollkommenheit erreicht, und wird mehr begünstigt und ermunthigt, als die Kunst des öffentlichen Unterrichts.“

Wenn Duden im Gegentheil von einer höheren Erleuchtung der Masse des Volkes in geistiger Hinsicht spricht, und die sieben freien Künste der amerikanischen Ansiedler zum Schlusse aufzählt, so kann man nur lächeln und die gänzliche Verwirrung der Begriffe bedauern. Mag auch der Amerikaner immerhin 1) den vegetabilischen Dünger von den eigentlichen Erdenarten zu unterscheiden, 2) die mannigfaltigen Holzarten zu beurtheilen und anzuwenden, 3) Häuser und Ställe aufzuführen und das Kalfbrennen, 4) die Urbarmachung des Bodens und die Bestellung von Tabak, Baumwolle u. s. w., 5) die Geschäfte der

¹ Western Literary Institute and College of professional teachers.

² Diese Adresse befindet sich unter andern in dem Provinzialblatt abgedruckt: St. Clair Gazette, No. 2, welche zu Belleville, St. Clair County, Illinois, erscheint.

Viehucht und das Schaffsheeren, 6) das Schuh-, Potasche-, Seif- und Zuckermachen, und endlich 7) die Jagd und das Gerben der Wildhäute, gründlich verstehen, so ersetzt dieses Alles noch nicht eine gewisse Bildung des Geistes, und Fertigkeit des Schließens, die jeder Mensch und namentlich der Republikaner haben muß, soll er nicht lediglich das Lastthier der Gesellschaft, und ein unselbstständiges und lenkbares Werkzeug jedes Klugen und Ehrgeizigen werden. Bei aller Liebe für die graden und biedern Bewohner der westlichen Staaten, kann ich dennoch nicht anders sagen, als daß sie in den allgemeinen nöthigen Schulkenntnissen in dem Maße hinter den gebildeten Völkern Europas zurückstehen, als es die Städtebewohner, der Kaufmann und der Geschäftsmann, in fremden Sprachen und höheren Kenntnissen gegen den Europäer gleicher Beschäftigung sind.

Was soll ich aber von dem Zustande berichten, in welchem sich in den vereinigten Staaten die Kunst befindet. Wenn strenge, oft finster religiöse Ansichten den Fortschritten der Wissenschaften hemmend entgegen traten, so zeigte sich dieser Religionsseifer dem Aufkommen und Ausbreiten der Künste noch viel feindseliger. Musik und Malerei, beide zur Zeit der ersten und häufigsten Einwanderungen im Dienste der herrschenden und verhassten Kirche, der man sich zu entziehen suchte, fanden, wenn es ihnen wohl auch einmal gelang, über das weite Meer zu dringen, hier eine so schlechte Aufnahme, daß sie verkümmern und untergehen mußten. Jahrhunderte haben diesen oft blinden Haß gemildert und vertilgt, aber noch haben die verschüchterten Mäusen und Grazien Amerika ihre Kunst nicht zugewendet. Nichts ist bei den Bewohnern dieser großen Länderstrecken weniger ausgebildet, als ihre Phantasie, ein Vermögen, welches Bedingniß aller künstlerischen Schöpfungen ist. Selbst Cooper, einer ihrer besten Schriftsteller, ist nur da ausgezeichnet, wo er beschreibt, nicht wo er erfindet. Was sich bis jetzt an Kunsterzeugungen hier vorfindet, ist nicht Ergebnis und Schöpfung eigenthümlichen Schönheitssinnes, der im Volke liegt, es ist fremde Aneignung, die mit den Umgebungen in keinem Verhältniß, in keiner Verbindung steht, und deshalb wenig Eindruck macht und erfreuet. Reichthum und Prachtliebe hat in den größeren Städten der vorderen Staaten manches Kunstwerk angebracht, aber eine eigentliche Liebe

oder gar Leidenschaft zur Kunst hat sich noch nirgends geregt. Um aufrichtig zu sprechen, sind die Amerikaner hinsichtlich der Kunst halbe Barbaren, im Geschmack nicht viel besser als die indianischen Urbewohner, die sich Metallblättchen durch die Nase ziehen. Bei ihnen wird ein künstlerischer Sinn nur das Ergebnis der höchsten wissenschaftlichen Bildung sein, nie aber in der ganzen Bevölkerung eine Beförderung und Stütze finden. Wer also Europa auf immer verläßt, der nehme Abschied von all den Museen, Gallerien, gothischen Kirchen und griechischen Tempeln, von all den Mausoleen, Gärten und Theatern, die ihm vielleicht so vielfache Genüsse bereitet haben, und mache sich mit dem Gedanken vertraut, daß ihm für Alles dieses nur das Grün der dichten Wälder und der Blumenflor ausgebreiteter Prairien einigen Ersatz leisten werden.

Je weniger aber bei den Amerikanern die Einbildungskraft ausgebildet und thätig ist, desto besonnener und berechnender ist ihr Verstand. Kein Volk ist wohl überlegender, keins wägt die Rechte und Pflichten schärfer gegen einander ab, als sie. Von Gemüthsbewegungen wenig geleitet, äußern Eindrücken ziemlich unempfindlich, entscheidet bei ihnen allein nur der gesunde Menschenverstand. Vor dieser, ihrer scharfen Beurtheilung, von den Vorfahren ererbt, durch die neue Lage in fremdem Lande, durch beständiges Ringen mit Entbehrungen aller Art, durch unaufhörliches Ankämpfen gegen eine große wilde Natur, erstarrt und gereift, mußte das Mittelalter mit all seinen Einrichtungen, an denen noch jetzt die meisten Staaten Europas fränkeln, zusammenstürzen, mußte alle weltliche und geistliche Suprematie in den Staub sinken. Minnedienst und Lehensstreue, Ritterschaft und Klosterseligkeit, alle diese Herrlichkeiten des ancien regime fanden hier nie Eingang, und wurden also noch weniger gehegt und gepflegt. Kein Mantel von Hoheit oder Heiligkeit schützte vor kalblütiger Untersuchung, kein Hochamt, kein Weihrauch konnte vor der gesunden Vernunft die Blüten des Wahnes decken. Die englische Revolution von 1648, im Mutterlande nicht zur beabsichtigten Entwicklung gereift, erreichte ihren vollständigen Gipfel in den vorzugsweise von Britannien abstammten Kolonien, und mußte sich hier mit der Unabhängigkeits-Erklärung und dem gänzlichen Sturze des Königthums vollenden. Von Männern, wie Samuel Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, dem Engländer Thomas

Paine durch Worte und Schriften geleitet, schuf sich dieser praktische vernünftige Sinn des Volkes Institutionen, um die sie schon längst alle gebildeten Völker der Erde beneiden, und die für alle Opfer und Entbehrungen dem Einwanderer aus der Ferne hinreichenden Ersatz bieten können. Ich beabsichtige hier keineswegs eine Schilderung der staatsrechtlichen und inneren bürgerlichen Verhältnisse, der Bundesverfassung und des Gerichtswesens. Dieses sind längst Gegenstände ernster Betrachtung bei den gebildeteren Europäern geworden, und dürfen als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden. Auch hat Duden über diese Gegenstände die nöthigen Zusammenstellungen gemacht, und seit Erscheinen dieser Schrift ist, so viel mir bekannt geworden ist, keine wichtige, die Einwanderer besonders interessirende Veränderung in den Staatseinrichtungen gemacht worden.¹

Auch der Schilderung der in den Freistaaten Nord-Amerikas sich befindenden politischen Partheirichtungen hat Duden einige Seiten gewidmet (29ster Brief), und da meine Beurtheilung die Bekanntschaft mit dessen Berichten nothwendig voraussetzt, darf ich auch hier nur einiges Wenige bemerken, was Duden entweder übergangen, oder gegen meine Ansicht dargestellt hat. Außer der großen, aber keineswegs scharfen Entgegensetzung in *Föderalisten*, solche, die für den sich vorfindenden Zustand gestimmt sind, und in *Democraten*, die für jede neu aufgefundene Wahrheit auch auf der Stelle eine äußere Repräsentation in der Staatsgesetzgebung und Einrichtung fordern, theilen sich die Bewohner der Freistaaten noch hauptsächlich in *Tacksonsmänner*, und *Gegen-Tacksonsmänner*. Diese Spaltung, die früher mehr als eine vorübergehende betrachtet werden konnte, und die mit dem politischen oder leiblichen Tode des Generals vielleicht verschwunden wäre, da sie mehr auf verschiedene Beurtheilung von des jetzigen Präsidenten Persönlichkeit zu beruhen schien, hat in der neuesten Zeit einen ernsteren und bleibenderen Charakter angenommen. Es bewahrte und regte sich von je in den südlichen Staaten, besonders in Kentucky das allerängstlichste Mißtrauen gegen jede Regierungsgewalt. Mit der größten Sorgfalt bewachten diese

¹ Neuer als Duden's Bericht ist die vom Congreß erlassene Verfügung, daß auch Stücke von 40 Acres vom Staatseigenthum verkauft werden können.

Staaten jeden Schritt der Bundesregierung (Congreß) und sahen in den meisten Bestimmungen Eingriffe in die Rechte der einzelnen Bundesstaaten. Je schwieriger die Feststellung und Begrenzung der Gewalten in einer solchen conföderativen Republik, wie sie die vereinigten Staaten gebildet haben, in der That ist, um so leichter fehlte es nicht an Collisionsfällen und scheinbaren Rechtsverletzungen. Jackson repräsentirt nun vorzugsweise das System der festen Geschlossenheit, der Einheit der Republik, während im Gegensatz eine Anzahl der Bewohner des Südens auf Kosten der Einheit mehr Selbstständigkeit verlangt, und vorzüglich den einzelnen Staaten das Recht vindiciren will, die Gesetze und Beschlüsse des Congresses, wenn sie dem Wohl des einzelnen Bundesstaates entgegen stehen, zu nullificiren, wegen welchen Anspruch diese Parthei den Namen Nullifiers erhalten hat. Wer nun mit Jackson steht, bekennt sich auch damit meist zu dem Grundsatz der festen Vereinigung, während dem der Anti-Jacksonmann, wenigstens wie es scheint, den Nullifiers beistimmt. Doch ganz congruiren deswegen die genannten Gegensätze nicht untereinander, und Jackson hat noch unendlich viele Gegner, welche dennoch die Nullifiers, deren Zahl überhaupt noch klein ist, aufs äußerste verabscheuen. Namentlich hat sich der Präsident durch seinen neuesten e i g e n m ä c t i g e n Schritt gegen die vom Staate privilegierte vereinigte Staatenbank, welche aber keineswegs darum eine Staatsbank ist, indem er ohne die von dem Gesetze vorgeschriebene Einwilligung des Staatschatzmeisters, die öffentlichen Depositen aus der Bank zog, eine Masse Feinde, namentlich in den Handelsstädten gemacht. Die Streitigkeiten hinsichtlich der Freimaurerei wurzeln eigentlich doch zu wenig in der Gesamtbevölkerung, als daß man die Angreifer und Vertheidiger dieser Stiftung politische Parthei-Männer nennen könnte. Desto wichtiger und folgenreicher ist aber die Trennung in Anhänger und Bekämpfer der S c l a v e r e i. Obgleich zwar Duden, vielleicht um seine spätere Deduction vorzubereiten, in dem ersten Theile seines 20ten Briefes behauptet, daß sich der Unterschied zwischen den Staaten, wo die Sklaverei erlaubt ist, und denen, deren Gesetze sie verbieten, noch nicht schneidend äußere, so reicht doch ein ganz kurzer Aufenthalt im Gebiete der vereinigten Staaten hin, um gerade das Gegentheil zu finden. Mit wahrer Erbitterung wird diese Frage sowohl

in Privatunterredungen als auch ganz besonders in den öffentlichen Blättern behandelt. Nun darf man zwar nicht glauben, daß hier noch große philosophische Streitigkeiten über das Princip selbst ausgefochten würden, nein die Anhänger des Slaventhums können bloß ihr Interesse und eine Hinweisung auf das Elend, welches durch die Aufhebung für sie entstehen würde, angeben. Eine sogenannte sittliche Prüfung oder Würdigung des Instituts, mit einem für die Sache sprechendem Resultate, ein solches seltenes Produkt kann nur von einem deutschen Gelehrten geliefert werden. Es ist schwer, über diese „sittliche Prüfung“ Duden's im 2ten Theile des 20sten Briefes ohne Leidenschaft zu sprechen. Im Ganzen reducirt sich seine schmerzfüllige und dunkle Deduction auf eine geschichtliche Begründung des Instituts, wie sie schon manche Hofpublicisten und übergelehrte Historiker vor ihm zum Vorschein gebracht haben. Griechen und Römer, Franken und Longobarden werden aus ihren Gräbern citirt, um dem Egoismus und der Beschränktheit ihre Waffen zu leihen. Als wenn wir je gebunden werden könnten durch die Vorzeit, als ob wir die Grenze nie überschreiten könnten, in denen sich vor Jahrhunderten die Menschen herumgequält haben, als ob wir mit einem Worte nicht besser werden könnten! Kann denn die Gottheit mit keiner neuen Wahrheit beglücken, kann denn die Menschheit nicht nach Jahrtausenden um eine Idee reicher werden! Wenn sich die Alten und unsere barbarischen Voreltern der Befangenheit nicht entreißen konnten, und Glieder in ihrer gesetzlichen Ordnung hatten, die unsere reinere Erkenntniß ausscheiden muß, sollen denn wir mit solchen geschichtlichen Verrenkungen eigene Unmenschlichkeit entschuldigen! Doch ich will ja die Sache der Freiheit nicht schulgemäß vertheidigen, es wäre schlimm, wenn sie noch der Schilling juristischer und philosophischer Abhandlung seyn müßte. Ich will Duden's festgemauerte Vorderfäße und seine soliden Schlüsse, seine Erstens, Zweitens, Drittens, seine Frag-Verengerungen und Erweiterungen, seine Streitgebietsverrückungen und seine durch zwanzig Mittelglieder herausgepumpten Resultate nicht angreifen, ich habe viel zu viel Ehrfurcht vor einer deutschen philosophischen Durchführung. Ich will lieber ein träger, unfähiger Kopf genannt werden, wie es in dem besagten Briefe heißt, und eingestehen, daß sich in meinem Geiste etwas entgegenstellt, das

wie ein unmittelbarer Ausspruch der Vernunft die Sklaverei verdammt, und daß ich damit die Sache für abgethan halte.

Was aber auch die Duden'sche Philosophie dazu sprechen mag, ich wiederhole es, keine Partheien in den Vereinigten Staaten stehen so schroff einander gegenüber, als die der Freiheit und der Sklaverei. Man kann kaum glauben, mit welchem Abscheu in den freien Staaten von den Sklavenstaaten gesprochen wird. Selbst gemeinsam wirkende Gesellschaften, z. B. mehrere Bibelgesellschaften, haben alle Verbindung mit ihren früheren Mitgliedern in den Sklavenstaaten aufgehoben, und die Meinung ausgesprochen, daß der, welcher einem so unmenschlichen Grundsatz huldige, unmöglich in Wahrheit sonst große und edle Ziele verfolgen könne. Es steht zu hoffen, daß nachdem nun auch England in seinen westindischen Pflanzungen die Sklaverei aufgehoben hat, endlich auch die südlichen Staaten Nordamerikas diesen Fleck, der durch sie noch auf den ganzen Vereinigten Staaten liegt, abwischen werden. Sollte aber dennoch der Süden, ohnehin schon in Irrungen mit der Nationalrepräsentation (dem Congreß) wegen des Zolltarifs, und wegen der vom Congreß mit den Indianern in Georgien und ganz neuerdings in Alabama abgeschlossenen Verträge, bei dem Sklavenwesen beharren, so könnte hauptsächlich dadurch eine Trennung in zwei oder mehrere Theile herbeigeführt werden, welche natürlich nur in Folge eines heftigen Bürgerkrieges stattfinden würde. Aber selbst auch in diesem unglücklichen Falle werden die Staaten Amerikas [Censurlücke: dem europäischen Monarchismus] nie das Schauspiel unterdrückter bürgerlicher Freiheit geben. [Censurlücke: Der Republikanismus oder] die ins Leben getretene Vernunft, herrscht so durch alle Klassen des amerikanischen Volkes hindurch, daß wohl an eine Umgestaltung des Gesamtverbands, nie aber an eine Sinecure unter einen Alleinherrscher und an ein Aufgeben der Rechte, welche die Bürger sich selbst in ihren Urkunden zugesichert haben, gedacht werden kann. Vom Bewohner der reichen und blühenden Handelsstädte des atlantischen Meeres, bis zu dem dürftigen Ansiedler an der äußersten Grenze des Missouri durchweht Alle ein Geist der Unabhängigkeit und Freiheit, der sich niemals unterdrücken läßt. Man hat wohl auch in Europa vielfältig die Wohlthaten und Segnungen erkannt, die eine freie

Verfassung dem Volke bringt, aber nur wer hier in den Freistaaten gelebt hat, kann die umfassenden und durchgreifenden Folgen der Freiheit so recht einsehen. In Folge dieser freien Verfassung, die jeden erblichen Rang, jeden Anspruch der Geburt verwirft, hat sich in den Amerikanern, selbst in den Ärmsten ein Gefühl der Menschenwürde und der Selbstständigkeit ausgeprägt, das bei der Masse des Volkes den Mangel einer besseren wissenschaftlichen Bildung wenigstens zum Theil ersetzt. Der einfache Bewohner des Landes, der nie in Städten oder in der sogenannten großen Gesellschaft sich herumgetrieben hat, benimmt sich mit einem gewissen Anstand und einer Leichtigkeit, die dem eingeschüchterten europäischen Bauer nie eigen, und in der Regel bei uns nur die Frucht einer besonderen Bildung ist. In Folge dieser freien Verfassung sind in Amerika tausend Vorurtheile gefallen, von denen der hellste Kopf in Europa sich oft nicht loszureißen vermag. Alle Standesunterschiede, Vorzüge dieser oder jener Verrichtung, Convenienzen und Höflichkeitsformeln sind hier begraben. Diesen freien Institutionen verdanken die Bewohner der vereinigten Staaten völlig freie Religionsäußerung und Denkfreiheit, welche der vernünftige Mann in Europa zwar auch seinem Mitmenschen zugesteht, doch nicht ohne sich dieses Zugeständniß zum Lobe anzuschlagen. Der Begriff von Duldung ist hier unbekannt, niemand denkt daran, daß eine Beschränkung in dieser Hinsicht möglich seyn könne. Während Religionsduldung bei uns eine Tugend ist, ist sie hier eine Eigenschaft, und jede Abweichung würde strafbares Laster heißen. Diesen freien Institutionen gemäß, findet man es hier unbegreiflich, wie Preßbeschränkungen, nicht öffentliche und dem Volk nicht anvertraute Gerichte irgendwo bestehen können. Niemand müht sich hier mit Beweisen von der Nothwendigkeit und Vernünftigkeit der Preßfreiheit und Schwurgerichte ab. Wer das Gegentheil behaupten würde, fände ebensovienig Widerlegung als ein Verrückter, sondern würde nur bemitleidet [Censurlücke: und allenfalls ins Narrenhaus gesteckt] werden. Diesen freien Einrichtungen zufolge, sind die Beamten hier lediglich Diener des Volkes,¹ und sie können nur während

¹ Zum Beweise dieses Ausspruchs will ich die Antwort des Gouverneurs von Illinois an eine Versammlung mittheilen, welche in Cook County in der Absicht abgehalten wurde, um den Gouverneur zur Versammlung der Abgeordneten hinsichtlich einer Beschlusnahme zur Errich-

tung einer Eisenbahn zu bewegen. Dieses in allen Blättern des Staates Illinois und der Nachbarstaaten mitgetheilte Antwortschreiben ist hier nicht auffallend, und der Präsident des Congresses und die höchsten Staatsbeamten reden in keinem andern Ton. Nur als Gegenstück unseres Gerichts- und Kabinetstils möge dieß an und für sich bedeutungslose Schreiben einen Platz finden.

Belle ville, Illinois, 6. November 1833.

An Colonel Owen, Präsidenten, und Dr. Kimbrelh, Sekretär, einer zahlreichen und achtbaren Versammlung der Bürger von Cook County — dem von dieser Versammlung gewählten Ausschuß und den Bürgern der besagten County (Bezirk).

Meine Herren: — Ich hatte vor einiger Zeit die Ehre, die Abschrift der Einleitung und Entschlüsse genannter Zusammenkunft zu erhalten, die mich, als den Gouverneur des Staates, auffordern, die Generalversammlung zu berufen und ihr den schleunigen Anfang einer Eisenbahn, die den Michigan-See mit den schiffbaren Wassern des Illinois verbinde, anzuempfehlen.

Ich habe es verschoben, Ihnen bis jetzt zu antworten, nicht aus Mangel aus Achtung für Sie, sondern um dem Volke des Staates Zeit und Gelegenheit zu geben, sich über diese Sache zu berathen.

Es freut mich sehr zu erfahren, daß Sie so eifrig bei der Vollendung der größten verbessernden Anlage im ganzen Westen interessiert sind. Es gibt keine Anlage, welche so vortheilhaft für das ganze Mississippi-Thal sehn würde, als diese Verbindung der See'n mit den schiffbaren Gewässern des Mississippi gerade auf diesem Punkt, und die zu gleicher Zeit so wenig kosten würde. Nach dieser Ansicht habe ich diesen Gegenstand den zwei vorhergehenden Generalversammlungen des Staates vorgelegt. Dessen ungeachtet jedoch muß ich nothwendig glauben, daß es zu dieser Zeit nicht rathlich ist, die Generalversammlung hinsichtlich dieses oder irgend eines andern Gegenstandes, der dem Volke jetzt vorliegt, zu berufen.

Der gedrückte Zustand unseres Schazes (den der Gouverneur aus den Mittheilungen der Finanzbeamten ebenfalls öffentlich nachwies) und die übermäßigen Steuern (die aber gegen die Abgaben in allen Theilen Europas verschwinden) die das Volk schon bezahlt, veranlassen mich zu glauben, daß es keine weise Politik wäre, zu dieser Zeit eine außerordentliche Generalversammlung zu berufen. Ich habe die geeigneten Beamten aufgefordert, den wahren Zustand und die Lage unserer Einkünfte und Schulden anzugeben, welches Ihnen nach meiner Meinung die große Ungeeignetheit zeigen wird, irgend eine neue Schuld einzugehen, und die Leute, welche Steuern, zahlen, können bezeugen, daß sie hinlänglich hoch sind. Ich will noch bemerken, daß zwei Monate verstrichen sind, seitdem die Sache dem Volke vorgelegt worden ist, und daß ich keine andere Anforderung, eine Sitzung zu berufen, erhalten habe. Deßwegen ist der Schluß richtig, daß es nicht der Wille der Mehrzahl des Volkes ist, daß zu dieser Zeit eine außerordentliche Sitzung der gesetzgebenden Gewalt Statt finde.

Aber alle Beamte sind Diener des Volkes und dem Willen der Mehrzahl müssen sie gehorchen. Nach diesem Grundsatz handelnd würde ich, sollte ich überzeugt sehn, daß die Mehrheit des Volkes für gut halte, eine Generalversammlung zu berufen, es mit Freuden genehmigen und eine solche sogleich veranlassen. Ich bin mit Achtung Ihr gehorsamer Diener

John Reynolds.

ihrer Amtes eine gewisse Auszeichnung verlangen. Von einer Einbildung, besser zu wissen, was dem Volke gut sey oder nicht, [Censurlüde: von einer sogenannten weisen und väterlichen Fürsorge], von einer Vielregiererei weiß man hier nichts, und Ansprüche der Art würden auf der Stelle mit Macht vereitelt werden.

Diese freie Verfassung hat Amerika, — durch seine natürliche äußere Lage, wer mag es leugnen, noch besonders begünstigt — zu einem blühenden und mächtigen Reiche, [Censurlüde: zu dem Freistaate der Verfolgten und Gedrückten gemacht, zu einem Lande, in welchem der Gemeisinn der Bürger mehr für die materielle Verbesserung gethan hat, als alle Fürsten Europas für ihre Untertanen zusammen!] Diese freie Verfassung hat den schönsten Beweis hergestellt, daß der Bürger sich selbst überlassen, seine Vortheile am besten erkennt und verfolgt, und daß ohne fremdes Zuthun der Mensch am besten sich selbst beglücken kann.

Wohlstand und Blüthe des Landes, Frucht der vernünftigen Staatsverfassung, haben dem Amerikaner eine Ruhe und Freundlichkeit gegeben, wie wir sie in dem von Leidenschaften zerrissenen und vom Druke verkümmerten Leben der Europäer selten finden. Dieser Wohlstand bewahrt auch vor so manchem Abwege, vor so vielen Lastern und sichert häusliches Glück und Frieden, die Grundlage alles bürgerlichen Gedeihens. Dieser Wohlstand und die Leichtigkeit, sich durch Talent und Fleiß die beste Existenz zu verschaffen, hat die elende Kriecherei entfernt, und die Furcht vor Auskommen, die kleine Seelen zum Stehen im Vorzimmer, zum Büden, zum Schmeicheln und oft zu aller Schlechtigkeit verführt.

So erscheint allerdings die Masse des Volkes in den Freistaaten, wie auch Duden richtig bemerkt, sittlich auf einer höheren Stufe, als die Bevölkerung Europas. Sie ist vorurtheilsfreier und den Versuchungen zur Schlechtigkeit weniger ausgesetzt. Aber nur der schwärmende Idealist mag wähnen, daß er nur darum lauter Tugendhelden hier zu suchen habe, daß er nur edle uneigennützige Republikaner hier finden werde. Solche Träume werden auf Erden nie befriedigt werden. Es ist möglich, daß die Menschheit einst eine ziemlich vollendete Stufe erreicht, ohne daß aber darum jeder Einzelne weiser und tugendhafter als jeder Einzelne der Vergangenheit seyn wird.

Ich bin mir bewußt, in vorliegender kurzer Darstellung nach meiner innersten Ueberzeugung geurtheilt zu haben. Wer ihr einiges Nachdenken geschenkt hat, wird gefunden haben, daß ich keineswegs beabsichtigt habe, vor Auswanderungen überhaupt abzusprechen. Ich habe nur auf drohende Entbehrungen, auf zu bestehendes Ungemach vorbereitet und aufmerksam gemacht. Nur wer lediglich eine günstigere äußere, eine bei weitem glücklichere Lage, als seine frühere auch nicht ungünstige im Auge hat, und wer unangenehmen Empfindungen bei Betrachtung des bürgerlichen Lebens im Vaterlande nicht ausgesetzt war, nur der mag vielleicht seine Entschließungen ändern. Die Meisten aber, die Europa, und vor allem Deutschland verlassen, ich weiß es wohl, werden nicht von Begierde nach Gewinn und Behaglichkeit getrieben. Sie folgen bei dem Verlassen der theuren Heimath dem Triebe, den jeder bessere Mensch fühlt, sich frei geistig und körperlich bewegen und entwickeln zu können, und verzweifeln an der Zukunft. Ein aus tiefer Ueberzeugung entspringender Entschluß wird sich nicht durch Aussicht auf Opfer und Entbehrungen erschüttern lassen, die am Ende doch durch die erlangte politisch und sittlich bessere Stellung aufgewogen werden; daß sie diese Opfer und Entbehrungen, wenn vorbereitet, dann auch leichter ertragen mögen, das war Zweck und Absicht meiner Zeilen.



THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN THE STATE OF COLORADO.

**ITS INFLUENCE ON THE ECONOMICAL, INTELLECTUAL
AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE.**

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INTRODUCTION.

The plan of the present investigation, carried on during three years' residence in Colorado, and by a subsequent correspondence of fifteen months duration, embraces a brief historical sketch of the Germans in the State, an exposition of their services in representative pursuits and their share in developing the resources of the State, and a summary, with specific examples, of the influence of the German element on the religious, educational, political and social growth of Colorado.

The printed book was the least source of material. The Morgan Collection of Colorado books, begun in 1885, by Edward W. Morgan, consists of over 1,800 volumes, but it requires only a glance at the titles some of which are included in the bibliography appended to this study, to be convinced that there is little of scientific value among them. Practically no attempt has been made to study the various national elements in the State. The 37th Anniversary edition (Jubiläums-Ausgabe) of the Colorado Herald published in 1907, contains an account of the Germans in Colorado and of various pioneer settlements, and a review of Colorado's industries.

The advantages and disadvantages attending research work in this vast field are readily apparent. An area of 100,000 square miles, crossed by the main range of the Rocky Mountains, and having within its boundaries wide stretches inaccessible by any of the accustomed means of travel, present unusual geographical difficulties. However these are largely neutralized by the genial cordiality of the people of Colorado.

The student in the cause of research is aided by a keen spirit of progress, a desire to encourage and spread knowledge. This was the welcome met on every hand, in all classes of society and in all callings, from the Governor of the State to the worker in the mine whose accent told his German birth. Several pastors of German churches manifested a deep interest in this work and supplied valuable information. To many more people of Colorado I owe the facts made use of in this study, and incidents and examples from which I draw conclusions.

Information concerning the most distant sections came often from my immediate circle. From distant mining camps and from isolated ranches came interesting data through the courtesy of students attending the State University at Boulder. Records of the University show a large German-American element among the students from its earliest days. Not only was information derived from them directly, but interest in certain localities was aroused by them, compelling a visit. Thus I have visited Denver, Pueblo, Boulder, Colorado Springs, Colorado City, Manitou, Cripple Creek, Victor and many smaller towns. I have had several hundred personal interviews with German residents and others,—pioneers, statesmen, politicians, professional men, students, bankers, farmers, industrial workers and tradesmen; I have visited Germans in their homes, in their churches, and in their social activities. In this way I gained much valuable information and an insight into the atmosphere and setting of the German population, which alone makes possible an estimate of the subject of the influence of the German element in Colorado.

An extensive correspondence was another prolific source of information. In reply to my questionnaire addressed to the school superintendents of the sixty counties, I received answers from all but three. Of these one, Moffat county, was newly created and had, doubtless, no information to give; the other two were almost entirely Mexican in origin and interests. Whenever possible, I verified through direct communication all information derived from published sources.

Deutsches Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

The oldest file that has been preserved in the Denver Public Library of the first daily newspaper in Colorado, the "Rocky Mountain News" for 1864, furnished items concerning the Germans in Colorado twelve years before the Territory became a state. The daily issues of the German newspaper, "Der Colorado Herold", for the years 1910 and 1911 show the interest and activities of the Germans in the State at the present time. It is from all of these sources that the material for the following pages was derived.

Colorado is no exception to the rule that the far Western frontier has always been characterized by a predominance of the native American element in its population.¹ We are presented with the fact in the United States Census Report of 1910, that the Germans constitute 43% of the foreign population of the State. The geographical distribution is shown to be well balanced. The two largest cities, Denver and Pueblo, have respectively the largest and second largest German population in the State.

These statistics show that the German stock could not become as conspicuous in Colorado as, for example, in Wisconsin or Missouri, where the German element numbers in some localities one-third to one-half of the population, nor could their influence become as strong. But surpassing the proportion of their numbers the Germans in Colorado have become an important element in the development of the resources of the State, material as well as social and educational.

¹ The 13th Census Report (that for 1910) shows that but 16% of the total population of Colorado was of foreign birth. Other figures in this Census are:

MOUNTAIN DIVISION.

Total Population	2,633,517
German born	42,898
German parentage (one or both native).....	92,070
Total Germans	134,968
Total foreign born	955,809

COLORADO.

Total Population	799,024
German born	17,071
German parentage (one or both native).....	38,811
Total Germans	55,882
Total foreign born	129,587

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF COLORADO FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES.

INFLUENCE OF THE GERMANS ON EXPLORATION AND
COLONIZATION.

It might seem a very simple matter to trace the history of a commonwealth that has not yet seen six decades pass since the period of its earliest settlement. But Colorado presents exceptional difficulties because of the loss of valuable records. The great fire of 1863 wiped out the whole business section of Denver, and the flooding of Cherry Creek during the spring of the same year, destroyed not only buildings, but valuable maps, papers, and court records. Thus the materials for the early history of the Commonwealth became very scant.

It was only a little more than one hundred years before Colorado became a state, that interest was first manifested in that section of the country. In July, 1776, two friars, Padre Silvestre Velez Escalante and Padre Atanacio Dominguez, undertook to explore a route from Santa Fe to California. To their efforts we owe much of our reliable information concerning the country at that time. In their descriptions they gave a glowing account of the grandeur of the forests and the beauty of the mountains and valleys, passing lightly over the roughness and impassibility of the country. Recent scholars deny the validity of all claims of exploration in Colorado previous to these of the latter half of the eighteenth century. They have also dispelled the once prevalent belief in the antiquity of the cliff dwellers, the ruins of whose civilization are still to be seen. To no distinct primitive race, but to the ancestors of the modern Pueblo Indians, are assigned the curiously inaccessible stone dwellings in canons and mesas.

The earliest authentic exploration in the Colorado territory took place in the period of the Spanish control. France had lost in 1762 the sovereignty over the tract west of the Mississippi known as Louisiana. In 1800 France regained and three years later sold this country to the United States. The

Louisiana purchase stimulated interest in the West. As a result, the expedition of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike was organized. Zealous explorers had other difficulties to overcome than those resulting from natural causes. A striking example of the discouraging effect of a single unfavorable report was the following. Major Stephen H. Long represented the region extending for a distance of five hundred miles east of the Rocky Mountains as unfit for cultivation and habitation. To this report Bancroft attributes the delay in securing it for the United States. Although such circumstances had a retarding effect on colonization, private expeditions of traders, forerunners of the great fur companies, advanced from time to time into Colorado. The first important forts within the present limits of the State were erected by the Bent brothers in 1832. During the years immediately following, numerous trading posts were established, among them were Vasquez's, Sarpy's, Fort Lancaster, Fort St. Vrain and El Pueblo.

Authorities assert that nothing of importance took place in Colorado between the year of Long's expedition (1819) and 1858. In the year 1842 government expeditions were sent out under John C. Fremont, but no important discoveries were made thereby.¹ Hard times following the panic of 1857, and discoveries of gold in California aroused interest in the far west. Tales of successful prospecting along the Platte river reached the ears of westward bound adventurers, not a few of whom paused for personal investigation. Some, on returning to the east, organized expeditions for prospecting in Colorado. Green Russell, a Georgian, was a member of one of these pioneer expeditions. Of the original company of 42 persons that set out in the spring of 1858, Russell with a half dozen men were the only ones with sufficient persistence to remain until a moderate degree of success met their efforts.

The political development of Colorado began at the time of these earliest settlements. In the autumn of 1858 a mass meeting was held in the settlement called Auraria, on which

¹ Charles Preuss, topographer, Fremont's assistant and companion, and Henry Brant, both of direct German descent, accompanied this expedition. Cf. Eugene Parsons, *The Making of Colorado*, pp. 88-116.

occasion Colorado was organized as Arapahoe County. A representative was sent from this meeting to the Governor of Kansas to secure the sanction of the Kansas Legislature to this action. In the same year the first of a long line of petitions to effect the erection of a separate government under the name of the Territory of Jefferson was sent to Washington. It was not, however, until February 28, 1861 that Congress passed a law giving to the land between the 37th and 41st parallels of north latitude, and the 25th and 32d meridians of west longitude the name of the Territory of Colorado. With this single creative act the Territory had for some time to be content. At this time, with the Civil War impending, national affairs were too engrossing. Washington itself was threatened: Congress was occupied with business less remote than that of the distant Territory. The recently appointed Governor, William Gilpin, received verbal instructions to exercise his own judgment and to do his best, for there was no time to attend to his affairs.

Constitution makers in Colorado had vast experience before they at last gained their purpose. A State Constitution was framed in 1860 but failed to receive the approval of the people. At the third session of the 37th Congress, 1862-63, a bill urging the passing of an enabling act, allowing Colorado to form a constitution, met with defeat. Congress granted this permission the following year but the constitution met the same fate as its predecessor. Finally a convention called in 1865 submitted a constitution that was adopted. This act was confirmed by Congress but was vetoed by President Johnson. Similar bills were revived and defeated periodically during the next decade. On March 3, 1875 an enabling act was passed, authorizing the electors to vote on the question of a constitution. The Constitutional Convention was held, and in the following July the new state was admitted to the Union. These, in brief, were the events attending Colorado's political struggle for being.

Many obstacles attended Colorado's rise to her present secure position. For many years this country was harassed by the powerful tribes of red men who dwelt within the terri-

tory. Treaties with the Ogalalah, Brulé Sioux, Arapahoes and Cheyennes are said to have existed as early as 1851. In 1862 the depredations of the Kiowas and Comanches were of such a nature as to demand military assistance. Some attribute this unrest of the Indians to the Civil War: Bancroft says that the savages did not choose to let the white men have a monopoly on fighting. An attitude of insolence became general, and in 1864 a combination was effected between the Sioux and the plains Indians with the purpose of driving out or exterminating the intruders—for such they regarded the white men. Outrages were committed and tales of repeated horrors were brought to the ears of the terrified citizens. Only a few miles from Denver a whole family was massacred. At this time the situation became very serious. Mail communication by the Overland Route was cut off. For a distance of 120 miles but one station on the route remained. The only connection with the rest of the world was by the ocean route to San Francisco. The red men continued their annoyances until forced to make peace by their too powerful foe.¹

Indian wars were but one of the many discouraging elements to the early settlers of Colorado. In consequence of the drought of 1863 great numbers of stock perished. Fire worked havoc in Denver, destroying at one swoop \$250,000 worth of buildings. But the trial was not yet hard enough: a winter of unusual severity followed drought and fire. With hay and grain at prohibitive prices and winter pasturage denied by climatic conditions, there was another tremendous cattle loss. The flood of the following spring was the final blow, though it proved to be the dark hour preceding the dawn. One million dollars worth of property was destroyed outright, farm lands were covered with a layer of sand and fruit trees were ruined. When we recall these almost insuperable difficulties and hardships, we are filled with all the greater admiration for the indomitable spirit of the pioneers.

The chief attracting power for Colorado has, until

¹ For an account of the German settlement at New Ulm, Minn., and the troubles with hostile Indians, see A. B. Faust, *German Element in the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 484-489.

recently, been her mineral wealth. Since coming into the dignity of statehood Colorado has seen two great "boom" periods. In the late seventies when gold digging was declining, a valuable discovery was made. The masses of carbonates that were cast aside by the seekers after the precious metal, were found to contain rich deposits of silver and lead. Soon the value of these metals increased many times, Immigrants poured into Leadville whose population in the first four months of the year 1879 grew at the rate of 1,000 a month; later this was tripled. The first smelter was completed here in 1878; by the end of the same year there were four others. In this beginning of the smelter industry two Germans were prominent,—Supt. Weise, of the original smelter, and A. Eilers who was owner of one of the first smelters in Leadville, and who later organized the Colorado Smelting Company at Pueblo.

A period of dullness in the years 1883-'85 was followed by a time of great prosperity. The advance of "dry farming," especially in Weld County, drew fresh flocks of immigrants. The year 1890 witnessed the founding of the richest gold camp in the world, at Cripple Creek, at which time was inaugurated the third great mining "boom". Having sketched briefly the history of Colorado from the time of its earliest exploration and settlement, let us examine the records to discover what part the Germans in the State took in these early developments.

The first city that was laid out and given a name in this new land was Montana, at the mouth of Dry Creek, six miles above the union of Cherry Creek and the Platte river. Later, the twenty blockhouses that constituted this settlement, were removed to Auraria, the first town of any importance in the region. In September 1858 St. Charles, the present site of East Denver, was incorporated. On November 17th it was reorganized and given the name of the former Governor of Kansas, John W. Denver. The claimants to the distinction of having built the first house in the new settlement were many. Philip Schweikert, of Columbus, Ohio, is said to have been one of the founders of Montana, and John J. Riethmann to have been the original builder in East Denver.¹ The latter was

¹ Hall, *History of Colorado*, Vol. I, pp. 181-82.

the eldest of four sons of Jacob Riethmann, a native of Canton Lausanne, Switzerland, who came to Colorado in 1859 and took a large tract of farm land about four miles from Denver. Through the provision entitling a settler who erected a house to thirteen lots, this enterprising family came into possession of forty odd lots which later became valuable property. These sturdy German pioneers were prominent both in industry and in financial fields. The elder brother, J. J. Riethmann, is said to have carried the first mail between Denver and Council Bluffs. He held also the position of first president of the German Bank.¹

Another German who was well known as a progressive and philanthropic citizen, was Walter von Richthofen. By plotting and selling the suburban town Montclair, he had cleared a fortune, and then planned to furnish the people of the vicinity with a park for public pleasure. He had erected a castle in splendid German style and was engaged on the work of laying out the park, when the scheme was checked by his death.² Johan Ernst Madlung, a native of Reichenbach, Saxony, was one of the first settlers in the town of Harman, in whose growth and incorporation he took an active interest.³ Another "first settler" was Charles Mater, a native of Cassel. He started the first building on the original town site of Leadville in June 1877. The grocery store which he opened, was a very successful establishment and became the headquarters of the town.⁴

Custer County became the seat of one of the most important, though short-lived German colonies in the State. The leaders, Carl Wulsten, Theodore Hamlin and Rudolph Jeske, impelled by a desire to ameliorate the unfavorable conditions

¹ *History of Denver*, pp. 556-571. A brother, Emile, for several years Swiss consul for Colorado, filled various political offices,—representative to State conventions, county commissioner, etc. In the latter capacity, he secured for his locality excellent road and bridge facilities. Two other brothers, Frederick and Louis, and two sisters, Mrs. John Milheim and Mrs. Foreman, came also to Denver.

² Hall, III, p. 285.

³ *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 607.

⁴ Fossett, *Colorado*, p. 410; Kent, *Leadville*, pp. 130-131.

of Germans working in Chicago, selected a colony site at the extreme southern end of the Wet Mt. Valley in December 1869. Early the following spring the colony, consisting of 65 families, (in all 367 persons) arrived and established the town named Colfax. Many reasons have been advanced to account for the early collapse of the colony, which lasted but six months. According to one authority, the colonists, being accustomed to city life, found themselves at a loss here and proved ungrateful.¹ Another says: "Lack of religious and social principles, and absence of military discipline left the colony to fall to pieces from inherent weakness."² At any rate the benefit aimed at is generally conceded to have been achieved independently of organization. Some took land claims, which subsequently became very productive. Others removed to different parts of the Territory, but all are said to have remained in it.

The earliest settlements in Saguache County were made by German pioneers. In 1865, a number of Germans, members of Company 1, 1st Colorado Volunteers, among whom were Captain Charles Kerber (Körper), Lieutenant Walters, and George Neidhardt, settled at Kerber Creek. Peter Luengen, a native of Rhine Prussia, was one of the earliest

¹ Bancroft, p. 595; Hall, Vol. I, p. 542.

² *History of the Arkansas Valley*, p. 694.

Soon after his arrival, Wulsten was made Brigadier General of the State Militia. He is the man to whom the community, and especially Custer County, owes more than it will ever repay. Through his tireless energy, he became one of the wealthiest citizens of the county. His reputation as man, miner, mine manager and engineer is an enviable one. It is said that his maps of mining properties may still be found in New York mining offices. Early in his experience in the colony (1871) his opinions concerning the mineral wealth of the region were published in the *Pueblo Chieftain*. These predictions have been tested by time and proved reliable. Concerning the Chicago Colony, the report was spread broadcast that it was an attempt on the part of the government to reclaim southern Colorado from democratic folly, which attempt, if successful, would be repeated in the San Luis Valley and elsewhere. Then when Colorado should become a state, the Republican party would be assured of its support. What truth, if any, was attached to this rumor is not known.

Another native German among the creators of Custer County was the Hon. Charles Sieber, a native of Neissen in Prussian Silesia. He was State Representative in the first session of the Legislature.

—*History of Custer County*, 694ff.

pioneers in the country. He is still fond of relating his early experiences. One of his narratives shows why the German pioneer was often through diplomacy able to win out when others, with less tactful methods, failed. While crossing the plains, Mr. Luengen encountered on the North Platte a band of Indians, 52 in number. As was customary on such occasions, a conference preceded any action on either side. During this interview, Mr. Luengen sat enthroned on his horse and won the hearts of the red men by trading with them for their buckskins. In exchange for a skin he dealt out a cup of flour and a slice of bacon, and gave evidence of the shrewdness necessary for business success.

With few exceptions the Germans in Colorado came as individuals rather than in colonies, and the instances are very rare where they clung together clannishly. This fact indicates the possibility of ready assimilation that the American nation delights in seeing in her immigrants. What the influence of the German pioneers in Colorado would have been had a more clannish spirit existed, no one can say. But what the Germans there have done in braving the terrors of the frontier, in producing order out of chaos, in developing material resources and in planting the institutions of a higher civilization in the new land can be learned from specific instances, selected here and there from the mass of material obtainable. The Germans in Colorado furnish an example of the typical German characteristics, long-suffering endurance, patient plodding, strict business integrity, respect for law and order, keen initiative in agricultural and commercial lines, accurate training and efficiency both in the foregoing and in professional fields, a sense of the importance of recreative enjoyment and a fine show of public spirit in the advancement of philanthropic and educational projects. These were far from being the qualities that characterized their forerunners, the early trappers and traders. The task of these later comers, the German pioneers, was a difficult one. Henceforth thrift, economy and industry were to be in the lists with utter improvidence, wastefulness and sloth. Randall Parrish describes the easy access into a western community in these words: "The West asked no question of

any man; all that he had been in other days, east of the Missouri, was blotted out. Here he stood eye to eye with his fellows, and no voice challenged him."¹

To review the facts gained in this brief historical outline of the colonization of Colorado we found first that the year 1859, perhaps the most interesting in the history of settlement in Colorado, brought several influential Germans to this frontier community. The original builder in East Denver, and one of the founders of Montana were both Germans, John J. Riethmann and Philip Schweikert, respectively. The pioneer work of von Richthofen as public benefactor was noted. Carl Wulsten, another of Colorado's progressive German pioneers, was the founder of the Chicago Colony. At the organization of the Pioneers' Association (June 22, 1866) which was to include only settlers of the years 1858-'59, there were present Andrew Sagendorf, John J. Riethmann and George Schleier. In various sections of the state Germans were among the earliest settlers. The first permanent settlers in Castle Rock, Douglas County, where now fully 75% of the population is said to be German, were Jacob Bower, and the two brothers Benedict and Jacob Schultze. In Buena Vista, Chaffee County, a native German, Gustav Krause, started a pioneer tent-grocery.² Fremont County has always had prominent Germans among its residents. Of them we call attention to the following pioneers: William Kroenig, George R. Schaffer, August Heckscher, Mark Schaffenburg, Charles Boettcher, Frank P. Schaeffer, Michael Dueber, Rudolph Jeske, Augustus Sartor, Julius Ruf, and Albert Walter.³ In Park County too, we learn of many German settlers. Jefferson County is proud to recall among its prominent residents the following native Germans: Adolph Coors, a Prussian by birth, Joachim Binder, born in Wittenberg, Peter Christensen, a native of Schleswig, Adam Ochus, a native of Hesse-Cassel, Adam C. Schock, a Bavarian,

¹ Randall Parrish, *The Great Plains*, pp. 337, 340.

² Hall, I., p. 396.

³ *History of Chaffee County*, pp. 477-543.

⁴ *History of the Arkansas Valley* (Fremont County), pp. 543-689.

and Henry F. Wulff, born in Schleswig-Holstein.¹ Elbert County had among its German settlers August H. Beuck, a native of Kiel, Holstein, who, in his adopted country became a prominent ranch man.² Another successful German rancher was Henry Gebhard, a native of Baden.³ Other Germans of note in Elbert County are Anton Schindelholtz, J. George Benkelman, J. J. Kruse and John Hoffman.⁴ Prominent Germans in Gilpin County are Jacob Kruse, mayor of Central City, 1874-'76, the Kountze brothers, bankers, Judge Silas B. Hahn, Charles Weitfle, photographer, Henry Altvater, Theodore Becker, Andrew Bitzenhofer, Maxwell Bolsinger, Henry Bolsinger.⁵ A progressive farmer of Larimer County, John Hahn, was also a native German. Another German, Samuel Clammer, wins words of the highest approval from his historian.⁶ Some of these men will receive more detailed mention later in this paper, but, in a list of the Germans who aided in the pioneer work of settlement, they could not be omitted.

CHAPTER II.
THE INFLUENCE OF THE GERMANS IN COLORADO
ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MATERIAL
RESOURCES:—MINING AGRICULTURE
AND INDUSTRIES.

With much of the West still unpopulated in the middle of the 19th century, there was needed an especial attraction to draw colonization to one section more than to another. This attraction, and a very sensational one in the case of Colorado,

¹ *History of the Clear Creek Valley*, pp. 558-599.

² *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 266.

³ *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 378.

⁴ *Supra*, 519, 625.

⁵ Hall, III, p. 408.

⁶ Watrous, *History of Larimer County*, pp. 364-365.

Other Germans in the vicinity are Rudolph Boeram, Dr. Schofield, Dr. Moench, Chris Molly, Watson Ziegler, Rev. Burghardt, Louis Wetzler, Frank Wicks, Peter Kern, Peter Scheldt, Vincent Demmel, John L. Herzinger, August Rohling, and Emil Loescher.

was furnished by the tales of unprecedented wealth to be found in her gold mines. Gold mining, or indeed, mining of any sort, did not long retain its popularity in the Centennial State, but to it belongs the credit of having served as the initial stimulus to immigration. The history of mining in Colorado, pictorially represented, would resemble the main range of the Rocky Mountains that extends north and south through the State, with three great elevations separated by depressions. The elevations, or "boom" periods represent the Pikes Peak "gold fever" of 1859, the silver discoveries in Leadville in the late '70's, and the almost unparalleled gold discoveries in Cripple Creek in 1890. When one studies the thrilling accounts of mining in Colorado with a desire to learn what connection the Germans in the State have had with this industry, two closely related facts come to light. First, many Germans who were intimately involved in the mining interests in Colorado, advanced during their connection with these interests, the cause for which they strove, and won thereby fame and wealth. Secondly, the cases are rare in which the Germans remained for a long time in this pursuit. This fact is easily explained. Mining is the most fascinating and perhaps the most tragic game of chance, absolutely incompatible with the typical German characteristic, thrift. When the German miner made his little "pile", he invested it straightway in a safer and steadier enterprise and turned to a profession or to a pursuit adapted to a life of peace and contentment. Shrewdness and perseverance are native German qualities which are of inestimable service in mining ventures. There are, in mining deals, many illustrations of the one characteristic without the other,—of dogged determination with no foundation on which to rest, and again, of shrewdness so calculating that it never ventures,—but it is the happy blending of the two that seems to produce the best results.

A sufficient number of Germans have engaged and are still engaged in mining in Colorado, so that a history of her mining industry becomes also a page in the history of the German element. The thrilling tales of adventure that make up the story of the mining "booms", as well as the tragic despair that

followed not only in the times of general depression, but also upon individual failure, are too well known to require repetition here. A recital of the accomplishment of German miners in Colorado would prove almost as familiar a tale, but a roll-call of some of the more significant names is highly desirable, that we may see how large a part the Germans have taken in developing this important resource. A veritable king among miners was a native of Minden, Prussia, August Rische, by name, who came to Colorado during the first decade of the mining excitement (in 1868) and made the valuable discoveries that founded his wealth.¹ Another native German who won distinction in mining circles, was Charles A. Martine, who began his mining operations in Colorado by opening an assay office in Central City in 1866. Impelled by the silver excitement, he removed the following spring to Georgetown where he made the pioneer demonstration of ore sampling and stamping in Colorado. To him belongs the credit of being the first man in the State to manufacture silver bars, as well as being the original shipper of ores from Clear Creek County.² Philip Mixsell, of German parentage, erected the first custom stamp mill in Idaho Springs, owned several large mines and was proprietor of the Mixsell Tunnel, formerly the largest project of the kind in the State.³ The famous Prussian Mine in the Gold Hill district was discovered in April 1861 by George Zweck, a native German who, recognizing at once the value of the ore, carried out his project of developing the mine though it was at great personal sacrifice.⁴ A noteworthy example of a German who was attracted to this country by the tales of mineral wealth, but who did not long continue in the pursuit of mining interests, was Charles Mater, a native of Cassel.

¹ Kent, *Leadville*, p. 127; *History of the Arkansas Valley*, 207-388. Mr. Rische discovered valuable fissure veins at the head of the Arkansas, also the "Little Pittsburgh." Owned large interests in the New York Mine and in the San Juan and Rico districts.

² *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 479; *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys*, pp. 521-522.

³ *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 419.

⁴ Bancroft, Vol. XXV, p. 649, footnote.

His long and active life in Colorado to which he came in 1860, was devoted to mercantile pursuits and to civic interests.¹

We may conclude this brief sketch² of Colorado Germans in mining ventures with a typical tale of the hardships endured by the men who came as pioneers to the west in quest of gold. Charles Lerchen, a pioneer of 1859, was a member of a party of four that set out from Davenport, Iowa, to investigate the celebrated gold country. While on their journey they were met by men returning discouraged from the very land to which they were going. Their unfavorable reports disheartened Mr. Lerchen's companions, who decided to abandon their mission. At Fort Kearney they deserted the more persistent German, leaving him, as his only assets besides his indomitable will and courage, a yoke of oxen and a sack of flour. He joined forces with another company which also turned back within 200 miles from the goal. Finally after a trip of 90 days, Mr. Lerchen reached Denver, alone.³

As before said, Colorado began its career as a mining State. The gold seekers came with no other thought than to make their fortunes and then return to "the States". But many of the pioneers of 1859-1860, failing in their mining ventures, turned their attention to the cultivation of the soil. Before 1870 when the Greeley Colony attacked the problem in earnest, agriculture in Colorado was a primitive kind. The average rainfall of eastern Colorado is estimated at 6-15 in. per annum. This arid region was indeed, in early days, considered a desert, unfit for the home of civilized man. Some

¹ *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp. 207-368.

² Others who deserve mention here are John Zinsendorf, E. H. Gruber, Caspar S. Desch, Henry Kneisel, Christian Manhart, Fred Buckman, William Tick, John C. Kaufman, C. C. Miller, Joseph S. Beaman, Andrew Bitzenhofer, Barnard Schwartz, Samuel Neuhaus, Frederick Kohler, Henry Neikirk and Erl von Buddenbrock. Of these all but two, whose parents were Germans, were native Germans.

³ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 635. Mr. Lerchen was born near Dresden in 1839. He at first engaged in mining in the Blue river country. At various times he was occupied with copper and silver lode mining in Custer and Huerfano Counties, and himself discovered several gold mines. In less than three years he had left mining for other pursuits.

of the pioneers were familiar with artificial irrigation as it was carried on in California and in the Rio Grande valley of New Mexico. They made attempts at a similar sort of irrigation along Clear Creek, the Platte river and Boulder Creek and thereby established the fact that the soil was fertile and would under proper conditions, produce with abundance. Even as late as 1874 it was believed that the uplands were incapable of cultivation, but when it was discovered that the soil of the bluffs was as rich and as productive as the lower land, changes in the manner of ditch construction took place. It was then that the big canal corporations came into existence. The construction of great irrigation canals in northern Colorado, in the San Luis Valley and in the valleys of the Arkansas and the Grande rivers brought water to thousands of acres thus opening the land to settlement. The advantages of irrigation farming are everywhere recognized. The increased production soon replaces the original outlay for canals and water works. The increased gain both in quantity and quality of produce is causing Colorado to forge ahead as a farming State.¹

The men who were active in organizing companies for the construction and maintenance of irrigation systems in Colorado, laid the foundation for her agricultural career. In the front rank of these pioneers were many German citizens. Chief among them were George Stearly and Andrew Kluver who were instrumental in constructing the canals of the Water Supply and Storage Company, one of the largest and most important irrigation systems in northern Colorado.² Others who have taken active part in construction and management of irrigation systems are David Birkle, Fritz Niemeyer, Alex-

¹ At present water rights go generally with the land at the time of its purchase, which, when unirrigated, is of little value. Private companies build storage reservoirs and canals to convey the water from them or from streams to the land to be irrigated, the main canals being tapped by many laterals. From each lateral small ditches are dug with scraper and plough to carry the water to the various fields. Colorado farmers began early to show their pride in raising produce of unusual excellence. *The Rocky Mountain News* of September 3, 1864, tells of the remarkable stalk of yellow corn bearing six large, full grown, perfectly formed ears, that was brought to Denver by A. Sagendorf from a farm 11 miles up the Platte.

² Cf. Watrous, *History of Larimer County*, pp. 482, 484.

ander Milheim, Andrew Hagus, John H. Behrens, Joseph C. Cramer and Ernst von Buddenbrock. Five of these men have filled the office of president of various ditch Companies, Kluver, president of the Water Supply and Storage Company, Birkle of the Meadow Island Ditch Company, and also of the Beaman Ditch Company, Andrew Hagus of the Fulton Ditch Company, and Ernst von Buddenbrock of the Model Land and Irrigation Company. The latter company, one of the late constructions, reclaimed 20,000 acres of desert land. Other important offices such as treasurer and superintendent have been filled by some of the above mentioned Germans, and all of them have been actively engaged in the promotion of artificial irrigation in Colorado.

Once given a fertile soil, perhaps the foremost condition for success in agriculture is a taste for, or even better, a scientific knowledge of soil tilling. Many adventurous pioneers, lured by the generous distribution of homestead land, failed or met with but meager success in agriculture, because they knew no more about it than they did about prospecting, and in farming chance played a smaller part. The German pioneer, however, peculiarly adapted to agriculture from long and thorough acquaintance with it, almost invariably succeeded. The Germans too, possessed the desirable characteristics of steady plodding industry and persistent effort. Many of the wealth seekers had imagined Colorado to be an enchanted land, the very sands to contain shining gold, the streets to be paved with silver and the bushes to yield treasure. Such, naturally, were disappointed at the grim reality. Whether or not the Germans shared this belief, they did not give up in despair when its falsity was established. The adventurous spirit of the west seems to have infused a little of its dash into the native Teutonic apathy. The same disposition that we saw was so successful in the pursuit of mining, willingness to take a good risk, mingled with a great deal of caution, met with an equal degree of good fortune here.

The industry in which Colorado leads all States is sugar beet culture. This has been a wonderful incentive to colonization and to the development of the State; it has suggested to

other lines of agriculture its own intensive methods and it has brought about many of the great irrigation projects. Sugar factories have been established at Eaton, Greeley, Loveland, New Windsor, Longmont, Fort Collins, Sterling, Brush, Fort Morgan, along the Arkansas valley at Rocky Ford, Lamar, Las Animas, Holly, Swink and Sugar City, and along the Grand river at Grand Junction, Monte Vista and Delta. These factories are reported to be successful, and they are aiding the various commercial, manufacturing and agricultural industries of the State. The development of this industry has, in a few years, built railroads, towns and irrigation works. Population and wealth have increased rapidly and capital has been attracted toward building up the enterprises that make for the greatness of a State.¹ In many of the districts where the great sugar beet fields are under cultivation, Germans are prominent among the workers. The people accustomed to similar employment in Europe seem to have responded to the call for laborers here. Many of them, especially in Larimer and in Delta county, are Russo-Germans, that is, Germans who formed colonies in Russia under very favorable conditions made by that government which subsequently were endangered. Peculiarly fitted for this work, thrifty and economical as they are, these recent arrivals have met with great success.²

¹ Cf. *Colorado State Board of Immigration*, pp. 10-13. For dairying, truck gardening, poultry and bee keeping, etc., see p. 13 ff.

² Peter the Great offered privileges to German colonies in Russia,—among them, exemption from taxation and from military service for a term of years. In 1783 Catherine II imposed a poll tax on the peasants in the Baltic provinces in order to prevent their developing in a way that would bring about estrangement from Russia. She was too wise and liberal not to see that the independent German culture of the Baltic provinces was far ahead of the rest of Russia, and instead of becoming a menace might serve as a model.—Dr. Otto Hoetzsch, Professor in the Royal Academy, Posen. Cambridge, *Modern History*, Vol. VI, p. 694. It seems very probable that the ancestors of the Russo-Germans in Colorado might have been among the emigrants from West Prussia, the foundation stone of whose colonization was the manifest of the Russian empress, Catherine II, July 22, 1763. This promised unhindered immigration privileges to all foreigners in Russia; choice of home in city or country; to poor families, assistance with travelling expenses and liberal aid from the State treasury by the erection of factories; freedom from taxes for some time; especially, complete religious freedom and the right to settle in groups on their own strips of land, to

They find it possible to live at about the minimum cost; they are all, including the women, accustomed to field work, and by the combined efforts of steady industry and strict economy they are rapidly gaining comfortable competencies, and in a small way, becoming landed proprietors. They manifest an ambition to rise from the state of mere hirelings; their interest in their adopted land is strong enough to cause them to desire to remain in it. As they are, in many cases, still ignorant of the English language, they are very clannish in religious and social life. They are rated among the best workers, and set a high standard of efficiency, thus producing among the other inhabitants a sentiment favorable toward their nationality.¹

A few examples of typical German farmers in Colorado will serve as reminders of the kind found here, while a catalogue of names of others recall many who have assisted in developing the State. A prominent farmer, a Prussian by birth, Frederick Gross, had, previous to his departure for the new country, mastered at home the art of intensive farming. This knowledge, together with his energy and industry, enabled him to outstrip his neighbors in annual yields. He soon became known as "the farmer who never failed to raise a good crop." He gradually made purchases of land and added thereto improvements until he ranked as one of the foremost men in his vicinity.² Another example of the success that follows

build churches and schools, to appoint their own pastors, and to have the inner management of such colonization in the hands of their own officials. Such colonies were to be free from military service and to enjoy the favor of the government. These colonists were, in religion, Mennonites. In view of the military developments of West European peoples at the end of the 18th century, it was becoming more and more difficult for these people to retain their peculiar position in the State (their religion forbade them to bear arms). Russia had, however, great territories along the Black Sea in which she wished to replace the nomads of Mongolian blood living there, by people experienced in tilling the soil, and many German colonists settled there, with exemption from military service. In the age of universal military service this privilege was in danger of being abolished, owing to the jealousy of less fortunate neighbors, and emigration of German Mennonites from Russia to the United States began. Cf. Wedel, III, p. 120 ff.

¹ "Kleine Gruppen suchten auch in Colorado fortzukommen," we read in Wedel, IV, p. 191.

² Cf. *History of Larimer County*, p. 485.

unremitting labor, is furnished by the experiences of Andrew Hagus, a German pioneer of 1859. After a few months' trial at mining he started an entirely new product in this region. He began to raise vegetables to supply miners and had splendid results in this much needed line. He introduced on his farm the first mowing machine, rake, etc., ever seen in the county (Arapahoe). His brother, John G. Hagus, who followed him in 1860 to Colorado, illustrates by his success the power of energy and determination.¹

A very close relationship exists between forestry and irrigation. The establishment of forest reservations has been largely in the interest of agriculture and irrigation. Although the science of forestry is still new in this country, Colorado is fortunate in having one well trained forester among her pioneers. He was a native German, Frederick J. Ebert, who came to Denver with an engineering corps from St. Joseph, Missouri, and made the first survey west of the Missouri river. As he was aware of the advantages of forestry laws and regulations, he was eager at the very opening of the country, to encourage necessary legislation. Truck and landscape gardening have always been largely in the control of the Germans in Colorado.² In this calling they have furnished very creditable results. As early as 1869, George Neare, popularly called "Dutch George," was a truck gardener at the mouth of Lone Pine Creek.³ Peter Fischer, a native of Nassau, was a pioneer nurseryman on Cherry Creek, about one and one-half miles from Denver.⁴

Fruit growing, now the leading industry in several large districts of Colorado, was, a few years ago, believed to be impossible. Now, the names of Delta County, the San Luis Valley and Rocky Ford are celebrated, far and wide, for ex-

¹ *Denver and Vicinity*, 246 ff.; Hall, IV, 484. At the New York Land Show, November 1911, the two prize winners for the best exhibits of sugar beets were Coloradoans. One of them was V. Deich of Julesburg.

² Cf. *Denver Real Estate and Stock Exchange, Annual Report*, 1891-'92.

³ Cf. *History of Larimer County*, p. 193. Mr. Neare removed later to Elkhorn Creek where, in 1871, he was killed by a bear.

⁴ Cf. *History of Clear Creek and Boulder Valleys*, p. 564.

tensive fruit culture. Colorado is now entitled to fame as a horticultural State. The leading fruit raising counties of the northern part of the State are Boulder, Jefferson and Larimer. The Arkansas Valley, with its center in Canon City, is probably the site of the first successful orchards in Colorado. The valleys of the Grande, the Uncompahgre and the Gunnison and, on the western slope, Montrose, Delta, Mesa and Garfield Counties are all important fruit raising sections.¹ The first fruit orchard in the Mountains is said to have been planted by a native German, Louis Wetzler, who came to Greeley in 1871. He was at first subjected to the scorn of his neighbors, who declared his undertaking an impossibility. Later, he was able to prove that they were wrong. By his example he encouraged many others to follow in this pursuit.² Another native German who disproved the theory that fruit could not be successfully grown in Colorado was John G. Bader, a pioneer farmer on Left Hand Creek in Boulder County.³ Albert G. Snyder, a native of Canton Berne, met with very favorable results with his large orchards, also his crops of grapes, strawberries and blackberries.⁴ John D. Stickfort, a native of Hanover, planted on a very uninviting tract of wild prairie land in Jefferson County in 1882, an apple orchard which was said to be the best producer in the county. In 1897, Mr. Stickfort gathered from it more than 1,000 barrels of apples.⁵ In 1859, William Hoehne came to Las Animas County where he was the first farmer settler and one of the most enterprising of the German pioneers. He is credited with having built the first mill, with having introduced the first threshing machine and with having started the cultivation of strawberries, apples, cherries, etc., in the county. He conducted his farming in a progressive fashion. For example, he conceived the idea of planting crabapples and cottonwood trees in alternate rows, thus affording wind breaks

¹ Cf. *Jubiläums-Ausgabe des Colorado Herald*, p. 45.

² *History of Larimer County*, pp. 416-417.

³ Cf. *History of Boulder Valley*, p. 611.

⁴ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 750.

⁵ Cf. *Supra*, p. 1024.

and timber protection. For several years, he operated 1,000 acres of land on which he raised splendid crops.¹ Among the many other successful fruit growers and gardeners among the German settlers in Colorado we would mention especially Frederick C. Schroeder in the Clear Creek Valley, and Frank W. Ricks in the Little Thompson Valley.²

Although Colorado was long famed for its cattle ranges, it took considerable time for the stockmen to discover that they could increase their profits enormously by employing other methods than, as formerly, shipping the cattle to eastern markets.³ Among men who were not content to follow the beaten track, were several alert German citizens who turned their attention to the dairy industry. Prominent among them were George Rittmayer, Johann Madlung, Emile Riethmann, Frederick Affolter, Charles Bangert, T. U. Bausinger, William Bramkamp, Ferdinand Ebert, Eugene Farny, P. W. Snyder, Jacob Wolfensberger, all of whom were native Germans with the exception of Mr. Snyder who was of German ancestry, and Messrs. Riethmann and Wolfenberger who were both born in Switzerland.⁴

The Denver Stock Exchange was first organized in 1887, but the pioneers had made small but successful beginnings with the cattle business previous to that time. Especially in the beet raising districts, sheep raising is of importance. The two are supplementary as the beet tops and pulp have proven to be the best diet for the animals, thus providing a use for the waste product. The sheep industry is said to have produced the greatest clear profits of any of Colorado's agricultural

¹ Cf. Hall, IV, p. 194.

² Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 1024; *History of Larimer County*, pp. 383-384.

Gustav Hermanhofer, Park Superintendent of Pueblo, had set out in City Park 400 various plants (according to the *Colorado Herald* for February 27, 1912), in order to establish the fact that they will grow in alkaline soil.

³ In this connection, cf. F. L. Paxson, "The Cow Country," in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXII, No. 1 (October, 1916).

⁴ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 598, 725, 879, 995, 1089; Hall, IV, 396ff.

industries. Among the early pioneers who carried on an extensive business in this line was a man of German descent, Ernest Bartels.¹ A native German pioneer of 1860, Jacob Scherer who was born near the city of Dresden, was one of the early cattle men who from humble beginnings achieved great wealth. Unless a cattleman had control of great capital he had to be content to isolate himself and to "rough it". There was, however, a way for a man with persistence to build up a fortune. The big drivers who had in their care 800 to 1,000 head of cattle, had no time to care for the sick cattle or for the calves that were born on the way. Thus the man who was willing to submit to personal sacrifice and hardship, could follow the trail from Texas to Montana and pick up these unfortunates and with them form the nucleus of a profitable business. Charles Lerchen, another native German, carried on a stock ranch in Arapahoe County as early as 1868. He is said to have brought into the State more finely bred bulls than any other man, and he is the first man in the State to give premiums for prize cattle. John Walters, later head of one of the largest firms in Denver and one of the largest sheep raisers and dealers in the West, laid the foundation for his business by purchasing several hundred head of sheep in New Mexico and driving them to the Denver market. His interests extended later to sheep breeding and raising in Wyoming, also to buying and ranging in Utah, Colorado, Kansas and Nebraska. He was a member of the Standard Meat and Live Stock Association of which another native German, Frank X. Aicher, was also a member.² Jacob Scherrer, a stock man since 1868, was at one time owner of the Denver Stock Yards, the first establishment for supplying the beef market of the city.³ August Beuck, whose native city was Kiel in Holstein, was owner of 1,000 acres of land in Elbert County and also of nearly as many head of cattle, and was a member of the Colo-

¹ Cf. Hall, IV, pp. 333-337.

² Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 726. Mr. Walter's father was born in Würtemberg.

³ *History of Denver*, pp. 601-602. Mr. Scherrer of German and French descent.

rado Cattle Growers' Association.¹ Another German member of this Association was Henry Gebhard, who after spending ten years in Elbert County buying, selling and shipping cattle, became a member of the Burghardt Packing Company and later organized the Colorado Packing and Provision Company, the largest packers of beef and pork in the State. To its founder is attributed the prosperity of the organization. Anton Schindelholz and John G. Benkelman are also on the roll of members of the Colorado Packing and Provision Company. Elijah Bosserman is general manager of the Denver Live Stock Commission Company, which he organized in 1886. This was the first company to locate at the Union Stock Yards in Denver. Jacob Schütz whose tract of 2,500 acres of land in Douglas County was in 1860 a wild, unimproved claim, by his strenuous efforts adapted the same to his purposes and made a great success with raising thoroughbred, shorthorn cattle.² In the instances cited above, we again see many Germans taking the lead in an important agricultural industry.

Many of the successful farmers in Colorado, and among them are Germans, have achieved their prosperity through a kind of farming elsewhere unknown, the so-called "dry farming". It seems logical that the land that produces wild

¹ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 226. Mr. Beuck was one of the first stockmen to dehorn cattle.

² Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 332, 378, 425, 519, 923. Also, for Benkelman, *History of Denver*, p. 332.

Among other stockmen, "old-timers," deserving of their success and among the most substantial and most highly respected citizens of their respective communities was John Hahn, for thirteen years stock raiser in Larimer County. Mr. Hahn, a German by birth (see *Supra*, 933, and *History of Larimer County*, 391), acquired by his judgment and energy 1,240 acres of excellent land. Here also we mention John L. Mitch, of Prussian parentage, part owner of 3,500 head of sheep in Bent County; Ludwig Kramer, a native of Wittenberg; William Barth, a native German, president and organizer of the Denver-Texas Cattle Company; Charles Snyder, whose father was a native of Canton Berne; Ferdinand Ebert, George C. Fahrion, Andrew Hagus, Christian Killkopf, J. E. Madlung, George Stearly, and Lewis Hagus, all of German birth, and Rudolph Koenig, born in Switzerland, and Frederick Schroeder and Michael Leuhart, of German descent. For detailed accounts of the above see *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 208ff., 768, 773, 786; *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp. 765-889; Hall, IV, 449-450, 484, 494, 529, 503; *History of Larimer County*, pp. 476, 484.

the cactus and sage brush should yield valuable agricultural products. The secret, in this arid country, lies in producing a soil that hinders the moisture from being absorbed by the hot, dry air. In order to make the lower layer of soil as yielding as possible to a large water content, the surface is kept finely pulverized but firm and compact. The Colorado "dry farmers" have accomplished the remarkable results that a rainfall of 12 inches can be so conserved that it yields better effects than are attained in regions where the average moisture is 24 inches. Ten thousand square miles of desert land where only cactus, sage brush, sunflowers and prairie grass once grew, are, as a result, now yielding rich harvests of wheat, corn and clover. To this branch of agricultural industry the German farmer has adapted himself readily. He realizes that tireless industry is the price set upon a good harvest and he pays this price willingly. We cite here only a few of the many instances that show how the German immigrant by persistent efforts, strict economy and shrewdness has made for himself a solid place.

The case of Andrew C. Kluver is typical. When he came to Fort Collins at the age of 25, he put to immediate use his only capital,—a span of horses, a wagon and cash amounting to \$31. He occupied himself, at first, with odd jobs of teaming; later, he ran a threshing machine and baler. In less than two years after his arrival he was owner of three teams which he traded for a small stock of groceries, engaging then in the mercantile business. His success was remarkable. He became owner of a good farm in the Cache La Poudre Valley, of the Craddock ranch at Livermore, and of a well stocked cattle ranch on Rabbitt and Meadow Creeks. He acquired as well, large interests in financial organizations,—in banking and in the Water Storage and Supply Company.¹ Another native German, Lewis Schroers, who settled on a farm on the Platte River near Island Station in 1860, since then so improved his land that it became one of the finest farms in the county. He is described as possessing "the usual steady, persevering energy

¹ Cf. *History of Larimer County*, p. 398.

characteristic of the Germans.”¹ Anton Schindelholz came to Colorado in 1860 with no capital save physical strength, steady determination and thrifty habits. It did not take him long to discover that his dream of gaining sudden wealth was an idle one. Sober judgment gaining the mastery over his enthusiastic visions, he bought a ranch, stocked it with cattle and conducted a successful dairy, becoming thereby a man of wealth and position.² Another tale of “Poverty to Prosperity” is illustrated in the experiences of Emile Riethmann, a pioneer of 1859, whose history has already been considered in the pages treating of the German pioneers in Colorado. The oft repeated assertion that prosperity seems to have followed the Germans, is unconsciously explained by those who testify: “There are few shiftless ones among the Germans.”

Native Germans and their sons have engaged in nearly, if not indeed all the industries that flourish in Colorado. The brewing and bottling business is practically monopolized by them. Prominent names in this industry which has, in Colorado, ranked high, are Coors, Endlich, Frederick, Fuescher, Burghardt, Neef, Lammers, Suess and Zang, all of whom with but a single exception are of German birth. Philip Zang who was born in Bavaria in 1826, arrived in Denver in 1869, where he entered the employ of John Good as superintendent of the latter's brewery. In July 1871 he purchased the Rocky Mountain Brewery, the pioneer establishment in Denver, which later was said to be the largest brewery between St. Louis and San Francisco.³ Adolph Herman Joseph Coors was born at Barmen, Rhine Prussia, February 4, 1847. He went to America in 1868, to Denver in April 1872. In June of the same year he started a bottling business with John Staderman. In October 1872, in company with Jacob Schueler, he established a brewery in Golden. He later purchased his partner's interest in the brewery which became one of the

¹ Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 587.

² Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 519.

³ Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 651; Hall, IV, p. 631; *Denver and Vicinity*, 5496. See also *Jubiläums-Ausgabe des Colorado Herald*, p. 60.

largest and best equipped in the State. Agencies have been established at Denver, Pueblo, Trinidad, Colorado Springs, Aspen, Fort Collins, Louisville, Blackhawk, Como, Meeker, Buena Vista, Del Norte, Creede, Gunnison, and Aquilar.¹

German bakers enjoy wide fame and Colorado does not detract therefrom. Starting with the earliest times, when in 1859 Henry Reitze opened the first bakery in Denver and offered to accept gold dust in exchange for his products,² and going to the time when Otto P. Baur became owner of one of the city's largest candy establishments which still bears his name, there have been many Germans in Colorado prominent as bakers and confectioners.³ Among the pioneer German bakers were Hans J. Kruse, Adolph Schinner, J. J. Riethmann, and Albin Maul.

Hotel keeping has been a close second to brewing with the Germans in Colorado as far as popularity and success are concerned. Charles Eyser, a native of Holstein, was in the early 60's proprietor of the "German House" in Denver.⁴ Another native German, Otto Kappler, has held the position of manager of both the Metropole and the Brown Palace, one of Denver's finest hotels.⁵ Other Germans prominent as hotel owners and keepers are John Zimmermann, Frederick Christman, E. Menig, Charles F. Hertel, Conrad Frankle and Charles Nachtrieb. Zimmerman, a native Swiss, founded a celebrated mountain resort when, in 1880, he constructed a few rough cottages near his sawmill. As the resort became popular, the commodious hotel, the Keystone, was erected. Christman was the founder of a favorite road house in Virginia Dale in Larimer County. Menig was a successful hotel keeper in Denver in the early days, being connected with the Fremont

¹ Biographical material furnished by a member of the Coors family.

² This distinction is disputed by the bakery of J. J. Riethmann and John Milheim, pioneers of 1859. Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 518.

³ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 637. Mr. Baur was born in Würtemberg.

⁴ Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 426.

⁵ Cf. Hall, IV, p. 492.

House and later with the Milwaukee House, which he built, and conducted until 1889. Hertel came to Colorado in 1860 and had many thrilling encounters on the frontier with hostile Indians, in which he proved himself a man of valor as well as of enterprise. Frankle who constructed the Washington Hotel on 5th Street in Denver, and Nachtrieb, the builder of an excellent hotel at Northrop Station, Chaffee County, were both successful German hotel keepers.¹

Several German families in Colorado have made a signal success along mercantile lines. Pioneers among them were the three Bartels brothers, Louis, Gustave and Julius, natives of a small town near Göttingen. The former came with his original stock of merchandise in the summer of 1861, crossing the plains with an ox team. Nine years later he and his brothers were successfully conducting the houses they had established at Pueblo, West Las Animas, Walsenburg and San Antonio.² William and Moritz Barth, who were born in Dietz, Nassau, were pioneer shoe manufacturers and wholesale dealers in Colorado, whence they too came in 1861.³ August and Philip Rohling, two brothers from Dielingen in Westphalia, conducted large stores in Blackhawk and in Fort Collins.⁴ Edward Monash, another native German started in 1866 the first department store in Denver, "The Fair", where, by his energy and good judgment, he built up a profitable business.⁵ Other prominent pioneer merchants among the German residents of Colorado are George Tritsch who first offered for sale a varied assortment of farm implements;⁶

¹ For details of the above, see *History of Larimer County*, pp. 370, 466; *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 486; *History of Denver*, 426; Hall, IV, 530, 600; *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp. 477-543.

² Cf. Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography*, p. 343; *History of Denver*, 329.

³ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 205-208ff.

⁴ Cf. *Supra*, pp. 399, 977; *History of Larimer County*, p. 392.

⁵ Monash was born in Posen. Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 369.

⁶ Tritsch was born in Baden. Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 612-613.

John J. Lindner, plumbing and hardware merchant;¹ Samuel Strousse, Hyman Schradsky and Julius Berry, clothing dealers;² Gustav Krause,³ Adolph Bocker,⁴ grocers; Herman H. Cordes, carpet dealer;⁵ Ignatz Haberl, jeweler and lapidary;⁶ Henry P. Nagel and J. J. Hense, both jewelers in the 60's.⁷ Another pioneer merchant of 1864 whose advertisement shows how infused he was with the spirit of the west, was George Teiklar. He claims the following: "I will furnish my customers with every variety of meats from a mutton chop to an ox".

The name of Maximilian Kuner, the "grand old man of the business world of Denver", stands very near the head of the manufacturing industry in this locality. His genius for organizing is responsible for the Colorado Manufacturers' Association, established in 1906, an association for mutual assistance and protection to the shippers of the State.⁸ His brother, J. C. Kuner, who preceded him to Colorado, started the Denver Pickle Works in 1872. From a very small beginning,—Mr. Kuner at first did his own "teaming" in a wheelbarrow,—the company of which Mr. Kuner is president has grown to such proportions that it is reported to supply the

¹ Father was a native of Württemberg. Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 1080-1081.

² All three native Germans. Cf. *Supra*, pp. 1104-1105; *History of Arkansas Valley*, pp. 765-825; Hall, IV, p. 581.

³ Krause was born in Germany. Cf. *History of Arkansas Valley*, pp. 477-543.

⁴ Bocker was born in Prussia. Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 349.

⁵ Cordes born in Bremen. Cf. *Supra*, p. 376.

⁶ Haberl born in Hanau, near Frankfort on Main. Cf. Byers' *Biography*, p. 444.

⁷ Nagel born in Schleswig-Holstein. Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 537. Among the hundreds of successful German merchants in Colorado are I. H. Kastor, Edward Kerstens, F. L. Rohlfing, George Hamburger, Albert Abel, Fred Mueller, Maximilian Spanier and George Reinhardt. For above see *Rocky Mountain News* for 1864.

⁸ Born in Lindau, Bavaria. Cf. *Sketches of Colorado*, 1911, pp. 256-2557. *History of Denver*, p. 490. Data also from residents of Brighton.

trade in all the western States. The main factory is located in Denver, branches existing at Brighton, Platteville and Greeley, on which hundreds are dependent for support. Charles Boettcher, a Prussian by birth, was a leading promoter of the Colorado Sugar Manufacturing Company of Grand Junction, and was one of the builders of the first sugar beet factory in Colorado.¹ In Loveland he built another plant similar to the one in Grand Junction. This factory is the property of the Great Western Sugar Company of which Dr. Franz Murke, another native Prussian, is chief consulting chemist. The celebrated "Blackhawk" wagon which has won a reputation throughout the country, was invented by William Tick, a native of Stargard, Pommerania, and sprang from the need of a better equipment for hauling ore and for general mountain service.²

Attempting to fill long-felt wants many of Colorado's German pioneers have advanced the progress of the community by inventions. August Pirch, a native of Prussia, was one of these men. He invented a "Sulky Ditching and Sidehill Plow", an ingenious contrivance incorporating several new features, and also a tool called the "Improved Blacksmith Wagonmaking combined machine", an article adaptable for the operation of hammer, shears, reciprocating saw, drill, punch, chisel, etc.³ The names of Robert Bandhauer and Henry F. Meine, both native Germans, are familiar in Denver, both men being distinguished for splendid mechanical skill and for ingenious inventive power. The latter, a skilled cabinet maker, invented and patented a combination billiard and game table.⁴ A German who has resided in Denver since 1880, Jacob Fitting, established in 1892 the Pioneer Iron and Wire Works. Today his business is said to rank among the greatest of its kind in

¹ Cf. *Sketches of Colorado*, p. 150.

² Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 1024.

³ Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 548.

⁴ Cf. *Supra*, pp. 342, 518-519.

the west.¹ His is the distinction of introducing the first wire fence manufactured in Colorado. Adolph Rauh, a Bavarian, engaged on coming to Denver in 1870, in the marble cutting business with F. R. Trotscher. A year later he constructed a steam saw mill in West Denver. He expended large sums in the search for stone quarries and was successful in locating the first in the State, among them the famous Castle Rock Quarry and those at Canon City and Pueblo. He is entitled to credit for having established the first steam marble works in Denver.²

John J. Bitter came to Denver in 1879 and five years later started his business as contractor³ and builder. It is of interest to note that the first bridge constructed in the Colorado Territory was ascribed to George C. Schleier, a native of Baden. On his way to the Gregory Gold mines he was checked near Golden by high water in Clear Creek over which he erected a bridge at a cost of \$600. Mr. Schleier is said also, to have erected one of the first two-story buildings in the State. In the severe winter of 1858-'59 he hauled timber for the purpose a distance of 25 miles.⁴ A German woman, Mrs. F. C. Bray, formerly Miss Agnes Braum who was born in Berlin, is a capable member of the Laundrymen's Association. She has proved herself an efficient business woman in the laundries which she successfully conducts.⁵

The German element in Denver has aided the city's development through the active part taken by its representatives in real estate interests. Among the early members of the Denver Real Estate and Stock Exchange were Walter von Richthofen, H. C. Mentzer, Max Baer, Niesz & Company and

¹ Mr. Fitting was born in Westhofen. Cf. *Jubiläums-Ausgabe*, p. 46.

² Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 562.

³ Father of Mr. Bitter was a native of Oldenburg. Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 511.

⁴ Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 605-606.

⁵ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 567. For many other instances cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 450, 533, 630-631; Hall, IV, pp. 434-435, 475.

G. O. Shafer.¹ Alfred H. Gutheil, a native German, bought and plotted the Gutheil Gardens in 1889. Seven years later, the Gutheil Park Investment Company organized with Mr. Gutheil as president and general manager.² Another section of Denver bearing the name of the German settler who pre-empted it originally, is Wagner's Addition, named for Herman Wagner.³ Some of Denver's finest building sites were comprised in the section of land, or "Addition", named for Adolph Schinner, a native German who, in 1860, came to Colorado on horseback.⁴ W. H. Buchtel, son-in-law of the celebrated P. T. Barnum, for whom he named the town which he laid out, has been a strong factor in developing Denver real estate.⁵ Peter J. Frederick, whose parents were native Germans, held at the time of his death the following offices: Vice-president Zang Realty and Investment Company, Welton Street Investment Company, St. James Investment Company, German-American Trust Company and Lakeside Realty and Amusement Company.⁶ E. H. Asmussen, a native German, and John Milheim, a Swiss, have engaged with success in real estate ventures in Denver.⁷ As a real estate undertaking of quite a different sort we recall the amusement resort at Lindenmeier Lake, whose originator was William Lindenmeier, Jr., of German descent.⁸

The actual beginning of the smelting industry in Colorado was made at Malta in 1877 when August R. Meyer erected in California gulch a small smelter to reduce ores. As he was in need of lead ores the following winter, he experimented with the mineral on the dump of the Rock mine and found the result very satisfactory. Later the smelting industry attained

¹ Cf. *Denver Illustrated*, p. 38.

² Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 258.

³ Cf. Hall, IV, p. 623.

⁴ Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 594-595.

⁵ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 297.

⁶ Cf. *Sketches of Colorado*, p. 409.

⁷ Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 518; Hall, IV, p. 366.

⁸ Cf. *History of Larimer County*, pp. 281-282.

to great proportions in that part of the Arkansas Valley.¹ Frank Guiterman, a German of the second generation, holds the highest position in his line in the United States. He is General Manager for the American Smelting and Refining Company, Colorado Department.² Rudolph Koenig, a native German, pioneer of 1867, was for nine years President and General Manager of the Gold Smelting Company.³ A. Eilers, a prominent native German in the smelting industry in Pueblo, first became identified with that industry in Colorado, when in 1879 he erected a smelter in Leadville. Later he organized the Colorado Smelting Works at Pueblo.⁴

On a slightly different level from the preceding stands banking, a business which suggests always that the persons participating in it inspire an unusual feeling of trust. In the early days, when financial institutions in Denver were purely personal ventures, Charles and Luther Kountze, two of the four sons of Christian Kountze, a native of Saxony, organized and successfully operated a banking house in that city. This became later the Colorado National Bank whose president and cashier respectively, were Luther and Charles B. Kountze. The latter, at the time of his death, November 18, 1911, was reported to be the wealthiest man in the State.⁵ The German Bank, later incorporated as The German National, was organized in 1874 with J. J. Riethmann, George Tritch, C. A. Fischer, L. F. Bartels, J. M. Eckhart and Conrad Walbrach among its officers and directors.⁶ Mr. Bartels was also active in promoting the Colorado Savings Building and Loan Asso-

¹ Cf. Hall, IV, p. 431.

² Cf. *Sketches of Colorado*, 1911, p. 165.

³ Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 809.

⁴ Mr. Eilers was born in Germany and educated at the Mining School at Claustal and at Göttingen. Cf. *Who's Who in America?*

⁵ Cf. *Rocky Mountain News*, August 25, 1864. The Rocky Mountain National Bank was established by the Kountze Brothers in Central City in 1866. Of C. B. Kountze, the *Boulder Herald* for November 18, 1911, said: "The career of C. B. Kountze in large part is the history of Denver, the story of Colorado."

⁶ Cf. Hall, II, pp. 210-211; III, pp. 198-202.

ciation, whose purpose is to aid the poorer classes in erecting homes.¹ The German-American Trust Company, established in 1906, is one of the large and flourishing banking houses in Denver at the present time. Its President, Godfrey Schirmer, and Cashier Dieter are much respected German citizens who have made their way through difficulties from small beginnings. Mr. Schirmer was honored a few years ago by the Order of the Crown, 4th Class, conferred by the Kaiser. The two brothers, William and Moritz Barth, were prominent in the City National Bank of Denver, the former as vice-president, the latter as director.² In the Bank of San Juan and Del Norte, they were both directors and stockholders. Frederick J. Ebert, a prominent German pioneer who has been mentioned in other connections, was stockholder, director and, at one time, president of the Exchange Bank.³ From the annual statements given out by the banks of Denver, in December, 1911, it is easy to see what a large proportion of bank officials are at the present German either by birth or by extraction.⁴

Summarizing what has been told in the preceding sketch of the men of German blood in Colorado's industrial life and their influence on the development of her material resources, let us recall the prominence of these citizens in the mining industry. Although, as we have noted, this is a hazardous pursuit unsuited to characteristically German qualities, the Germans in Colorado have been fairly well represented as pioneers, as promoters and as successful constructors of mines. And aside from the part they have played in developing the mineral resources of the State, they have exerted an influence

¹ Cf. Byers, *Encyclopedia of Biography*, p. 343; *History of Denver*, 329.

² Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 342-343, 345.

³ Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 416-418; *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 400.

⁴ In the above mentioned list occurred the following names: John E. Hesse, F. A. Eickhoff, B. F. Salzer, H. M. Hubert, Dr. Charles Jaeger, Otto Sauer, Henry Gebhard, Thomas S. Hayden, Meyer Friedman, E. S. Kassler, August Schmidt, J. C. Burger, E. J. Weckbach, G. M. Hauk, G. B. Berger, Harold Kountze, William B. Berger, J. H. Kolb, A. J. Bromfield, Luther M. Beck, William F. Huffman and Ernest R. Stadler.

needed here, perhaps, more than elsewhere. Teutonic calm, sometimes miscalled "stolidity", often produces order in chaotic situations and saves the venture from ruin. Again, as we turn to the agricultural industry, the close and prosperous rival of mining in Colorado, we find a great predominance of Germans among the leaders. In irrigation projects, in general and truck farming, in cattle raising, sugar beet culture, fruit growing, forestry and in the comparatively new line of dry farming, Germans have excelled. Finally, in practically all of the State's industries are to be found representatives of the German element. Especially prominent in brewing, bottling, baking and hotel keeping, they are also at the fore in mercantile lines, in the manufacture of farming implements, wagons, etc., and in smelting. We have also seen them filling important positions of trust in financial circles and promoting real estate projects.

CHAPTER III.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE GERMANS IN COLORADO ON THE RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE.

From the very beginning of settlement in Colorado the Germans, individually or in groups, have been working for the betterment of the community. Hand in hand with the development of the material resources that we have studied in the preceding chapter, has come branching along cultural lines. Colorado has just passed the fortieth anniversary of its statehood but, as a whole, it bears little resemblance to a pioneer State. Its citizens have been ready to work for its intellectual and social growth and, from the first, Germans have been prominent in educational, professional and philanthropic undertakings. The church and the school have about equal claim to precedence in the field, and both have played an important part in the education of the people. The first year of important colonization in the Territory, 1859, saw the Rev. J. H. Kehler, of direct German descent, conducting the first Episcopal church in the region, St. John's in the Wilderness.

He was for several years pastor of this church, which he himself established. He served also, as Chaplain of the First Colorado Cavalry, accompanying them on the campaign against the Texas rangers. In 1873 the first German church was erected in Denver. At present there are in that city nine churches whose services are conducted in the German language. Throughout the cities and towns of the State German churches appear in numbers corresponding to the population.¹ In the beautiful Montezuma valley, in the southern part of the State, are two German colonies that bear a marked religious character. The Lutheran settlement is at Thompson Park, about 20 miles from Durango, and at the other end of the valley, about 7 miles from Dolores, is the so-called "German" settlement, Catholic in faith. No one can follow the press notices of the social and religious services of the German churches in Colorado without being aware of the flourishing condition of these organizations. We make no claim for the service of the German church in Colorado in influencing the religious development of the community other than that rendered by every prosperous church or religious organization, but we do hold that the German church has had a powerful cultural effect in that region in that it has kept alive in its worshippers the language of their fathers. In many cases, the church provides the only opportunity to the younger generation for practicing the German language. On their neighbors, the zeal with which the German citizens strive to preserve their native

¹ Denver has 3 Evangelical, 2 Methodist, 1 Presbyterian, 1 Congregational, 1 Baptist and 1 Catholic church in which the German language is used. Pueblo has 1 German Lutheran, 1 German Methodist and 1 German Catholic church. There are in Colorado over twenty places where services are conducted under the government of the German Lutheran Synod. Berthoud has a German Congregational church. Fort Collins has a thriving German Evangelical congregation. The pastor, Rev. Paul Burghardt, conducts services also in the Christ Congregational church (German) at Wellington. This is one of four churches in the town which is an important shipping point. Loveland, with a total of 16 churches, has 5 German organizations. (See *History of Larimer County*, pp. 198, 207, 211, 259.) The Society of Seventh Day Adventists have 4 German churches in Colorado, located at Brighton, Hygiene, La Salle and Loveland. H. A. Aufderhar, a member of the executive committee of the Seventh Day Adventist Association of Colorado, has charge of the work among the Germans.

tongue, produces a deep effect, and in them is aroused an interest in this language. An understanding and appreciation of a people whose customs differ from our own has a broadening influence. No doubt the tolerant attitude for which the west is celebrated, is due to the existence of many national stocks in an environment whose tradition has been neighborly cooperation and social equality.

As we examine the field of education, we see that the Germans on the frontier lost none of their native desire for it. Even when their means were very limited, they contributed generously to the maintenance of schools. In the fall of 1859, the same year that the Mission church was established by the Rev. Kehler, F. B. Steinberger started a little school in Denver with but 14 pupils. Amos Steck was another German citizen who was early identified with educational work in Denver. One of the two men to whom is ascribed the successful establishment of the Denver School system and its subsequent management is Frederick J. Ebert, a German prominent also as engineer and surveyor. Among other important positions, Mr. Ebert was at one time President of the Board of Regents of the State University, of which Board he was for years a member. Other German citizens who in official positions on school boards have promoted the cause of education in their communities, are Eugene Farny, an Alsatian by birth, Peter Theobaldi, a native of Bavaria, William H. Meyer, John H. Behrens, Jacob Schütz, George Tritch, Max. Herman, Oscar J. Pfeiffer and others.¹

From the very earliest days, Germans have played an important part in making and improving journalistic opportunities in Denver and in the other cities of the State. The founder of Denver's oldest newspaper, the "Rocky Mountain News," the first daily issue of which appeared August 18, 1860, was the Hon. Wm. N. Byers, a German of the second generation. As manager and editor Mr. Byers did much to attract settlers to Colorado by publishing articles explaining the

¹ The report of the secondary schools in Colorado for 1912 as to the Modern Foreign Languages taught gives the following: 98½% of the schools offer German, 12% French and 15% Spanish.

resources of the State, the advantages for stockraising and farming, the mineral wealth and the fine climate. The early files of this paper are one of the best sources for a history of Colorado. The general tone of the earliest issues of the daily is progressive. With daring and breadth of thought, improvements are suggested in civic life and subjects foreign to the average pioneer are discussed. From the continual reference to the Germans and to things pertaining to the Germans, it is evident that these subjects were expected to interest a large class of readers.¹ A lively editorial entitled "The Value of Amusements" says: "It is impossible to suppose that a human being can labor exclusively. He must be amused, he must laugh, sing, dance, eat, drink and be merry."² This sentiment, precisely opposite to that of the early American colonists, was that preached and put into practice by the Germans. They were the hardest workers and probably the most habitual players in whatever community they were found. Among the pioneer settlers of the west they instilled the principle of the blessedness of innocent enjoyment. Among other German pioneers who were effective journalists in the employ of American newspapers in Colorado was Herman Beckurts who in 1875 purchased the "Denver Tribune", said to be the leading

¹ An editorial of November 17, 1864, has the following: "'Ausgespielt'—this Teutonic synonym for 'played out' is very expressive when pronounced with the broad German accent." "What do you mean by Teutonic as you apply it in your items occasionally?" is quoted January 14, 1865, and, after an excellent analysis of the word, he sums up: "Teutonic, therefore, may mean an intelligent German, a flaxen-headed Hollander, a lager-loving Dutchman, a persevering Prussian or a peddling Pole." A news item, August 5, 1865, says: "The Germans do not have the words 'churchyard' and 'burying ground' to designate their places of interment; they use the beautiful and suggestive expressions 'God's Acre' and 'Court of Peace'." The editor calls Denver "a bookless burg" and, after giving his readers a severe rating for their remissness, he makes many practical suggestions for improving conditions.

² In announcing the performance of "The Robbers," February 1, 1865, he says: "The author of the 'Robbers', which will be performed tonight, was J. C. F. Schiller, a great German poet, dramatist and historian." Following this was an excellent biographical sketch of Germany's beloved poet. The educational character of many of the short items is evident. For example, there are articles on "The Drama," "War in Ancient Times"; he encourages reading of good books, and expresses a desire for a public library.

paper between the Pacific and St. Louis. As a result of his efforts at reconstruction, the paper quadrupled its circulation in three years.¹ Frank Kratzer and John P. Heisler were for twelve years newsgatherer and editor respectively of the *Daily Herald*.²

The *37th Jubiläums-Ausgabe des Colorado Herold*, published in 1907, furnishes a complete survey of German journalism in Colorado. The first number of the first German newspaper in the State, *Die deutsche Presse des grossen Westens* appeared July 16, 1870. Its short life of but three months is attributed to the lack of business qualities in the genial editor, Augustin Knofloch, and in no way to the Germans of the State, whose enthusiasm was great. Early in the summer of 1871 appeared *Die Deutsche Zeitung*, edited by Frank Kratzer, but before spring this, like its predecessor, had passed away. The fatal blow was struck, it is thought, by the business depression under which Denver was at the time suffering. On May 4, 1872, William Witteborg edited the first number of the *Colorado Journal*. Like its predecessors, it appeared once a week, the first two numbers in editions of 3,000 copies each. The paper received hearty support from the increasing German population throughout the west, the editor possessing the desirable requisites for making his undertaking a success.³ The paper went into the control of a corporation, of which Mr. Witteborg retained control until 1879, when both the daily and

¹ Born in Brunswick. Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 313-314.

² Cf. Hall, IV, pp. 472-473, 490-491.

³ Born at Soest, Westphalia. Cf. *History of Denver*, p. 635.—Meanwhile there were numerous unsuccessful attempts to found a second German newspaper. Some ended in failure, others became fused into the *Colorado Journal*. There is record of the following: *Colorado Courier*, 1873; *Colorado Post*, 1879; *Sonntagspost*, 1880; *Colorado Staats-Zeitung*, 1882; *Denver Herold*, *Denver Fidibus*, 1883; the *Denver Herold* and *Denver Fidibus* became united under the name *Fidibus-Herold*. In Leadville, during the "boom" period, a German newspaper made its appearance. For some time Pueblo supported the *Pueblo Anzeiger*, but it was finally superseded by the *Colorado Herold* and the *Denver Herold*. In the middle of the '90's, during the silver agitation, several numbers of the *Silberglocken*, an eight-page weekly in quarto form, appeared. The *Harugari Ordensblatt*, 1896, gave rise to the weekly, the *Colorado Vorwärts*.

weekly were turned over to Wyl von Wymetal. He, in turn, was succeeded by Roesch and Company in 1883, subsequently by Kratzer and Reinhold, who retained the management until 1893, when it was assumed by R. Walter from whom it passed into the hands of the German Publishing Company.

We can get some information concerning the service rendered by the paper in a study of its columns. The purpose of the paper as stated in its anniversary edition, is "Pflege der deutschen Sprache, Sitten und Gebräuche". This purpose seems to be in the mind of the editor throughout, in advertisements as well as in the editorials. The former, by furthering the interests of both subscribers and supporters, serves the community, and the editorials are typical examples of the courage of conviction. By granting them press notices, the *Colorado Herald* aids and encourages all the German interests, commercial, political, religious, educational and social. The paper exerts a linguistic influence in that it is expressed in comparatively good German, which it keeps alive in the community. In its four page supplement which is issued each Saturday, there appear stories, short scientific articles and long novels in serial form.

With music everywhere in the United States guided so generally by German residents, it were idle to add long lists of the people who, in Colorado, support and in many cases furnish the music. One public-spirited German citizen of Denver, Mr. Fritz Thies, who is accorded universal praise for his generosity and zeal in securing the best music for his city, must be mentioned. It means more to a pioneer community, which the west still remains in matters of the fine arts, to get the rarest musical treats, than an outsider can imagine. Scattered here and there throughout the State one finds often in the most unlooked for spots, Germans disseminating their music and encouraging a taste for this and other fine arts.¹

¹ A typical case was that of a German mining expert, Mantius by name, who in the barren mining community of Georgetown, during the silver excitement, made his humble home an attractive center for those of the pioneers who enjoyed music. He was himself a good musician. There are many instances of prosperous German music masters in Colorado.

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Both the German and American newspapers give prominent mention to the organized life of the German societies in Colorado. Of these there are more than a score in Denver alone,¹ some of them beneficial in character, all of them encouraging the perpetuation of interest in the particular section of the fatherland from which their adherents came. This may be seen from their entertainments. For example, the *Schwäbischer Unterstützungsverein* on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee, March 10, 1912, presented in Suabian dialect, a peasant wedding ceremony. Masked balls, with prize awards for the best Swiss costumes, are a favorite form of entertainment with the *Schweizer Maennerchor*. The *Denver News* of January 12, 1912 published an illustrated account of the 25th Anniversary of the Bavarian Society. In the chorus of 125 male voices that furnished part of the entertainment, were several who had participated in the Passion Play at Oberammergau, one of the performers, indeed, being related to John Lang, the *Christus* in the play. The *Edelweiss*, dainty flower of the Alps, was imported for decoration and for souvenirs on this occasion. Not alone from their nature and development, but from their very ideals, the *Turnvereine* are separated from the other societies. The latter are organized chiefly for the promotion of local or social interests, but the *Turnverein* stands for the education of the masses, and forms an important factor in the progress of American civilization. The Germans themselves give the following estimate of its value (cf. *Colorado Herald*, May 3, 1912): "Von allen Gütern, welche der deutsche Einwanderer von seiner alten Heimat nach den Gestaden Amerikas gebracht, ist das edelste und bedeutendste die deutsche Turnerei". That this society was in a flourishing condition as early as 1870, we learn from the "Colorado

¹ Denver has the following benevolent and social organizations conducted wholly or in part by the Germans: Alsace-Lorraine; Badischer Unterstützungsverein; Bavarian Verein; Bavarian Verein, Ladies' Section; Colorado Lutheran Men's League; Colorado Pioneers; Deutsch-Amerikanischer Unterstützungsverein; East Denver Turnverein; Schweizer Männerchor; Sozialer Turnverein; West Denver Turnverein; there are nine lodges of the Deutscher Orden der Harugari; five lodges of the Orden der Hermanns-Söhne; also the German Krieger-Verein. Cf. *Denver Directory*, 1912.

Gazetteer", a publication that appeared in that year, and which gives the following: "This German society, so well known and so much revered by the children of the Fatherland in every country, has already been firmly established in the principal cities of the Territory".

The principal *Turnvereine* of Colorado are the East Denver, the West Denver and the Social Turnverein, all three in the capitol city, the Leadville and Grand Junction Turnverein. Formerly societies existed at Central City, Pueblo, Cheyenne, and Albuquerque. As early as 1862, the East Denver organization was firmly established. The regular schedule of these societies perpetuates a live interest in the members themselves. The daily announcements in the German newspaper under the heading, "Heutige Versammlungen" serve as a guide to the life and activities of the Germans in Denver and vicinity.¹ The character of the social evenings of the *Turnvereine* is such as to stimulate regular attendance. The reports of new members admitted at each meeting indicate a steady growth. The influence of these societies is that they have given encouragement and instruction in athletics, thus developing the idea of producing a sound body in which the mind will the better dwell, and teaching the value of healthful exercise not only as a health preserver but as a means of wholesome enjoyment. They were in the field before the Young Men's Christian Associations, on whom they have exerted a helpful influence. They have supplied instructors for these

¹ The National *Bundesfest* was held in Denver in the summer of 1913. Preparatory to it the three societies of Denver held a great "Schauturnen" in the Auditorium on May 3, 1912. A feature of this exhibit was the film of motion pictures showing the great *Turnfest* at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and also the last *Bundesturnfest*, held in Cincinnati. One of the many appeals to the "gesammten Deutschtum," showing in what inspiring words the exhortations to their national feeling were expressed, was as follows: "Es war die deutsche Turnerei, welche vor hundert Jahren den zerbröckelnden germanischen Stämmen neuen Halt und neue Lebenskraft verliehen hat. Es ist die deutsche Turnerei, die dem Deutschtum hier in Amerika eine Heimstätte zur Pflege deutscher Ideale geschaffen hat. Es sind die deutschen Turnerschaften von Denver, welche am 8. Mai im Auditorium einen neuen Geist heraufbeschwören wollen, damit unseren Deutschen Ehre und Achtung zuteil werde.—Das grosse Bundesturnfest pocht an die Tür; die Augen der Welt sind auf uns gerichtet."—April 27, 1912.

societies and many of the schools in the State. On the public schools, too, the *Turnvereine* have had a stimulating effect in that they have been influential in introducing and promoting systematic gymnastics in the schools. On Sunday, May 19, 1912, an imposing demonstration by 10,000 of the school children of Denver was given in City Park under the direction of the leaders of the three *Turnvereine*, Jacob Schmitt, Ernst Klaffe and Adolph Schmidt, assisted by Robert Schmitt, Robert Koch and a number of the public school teachers. Various gymnastic exercises, athletic games, drill and Maypole and aesthetic dances made an interesting program. The influence of the *Turnverein* is nowhere greater than on the children, who, however unconsciously, are receiving unaltered one of the best things the Germans have to offer. On the occasions of such public exhibits as was cited above, there is tremendous enthusiasm in the audience and a universal feeling that the German "Turners" are performing an inestimable service in Denver. A more subtle influence of these societies is that they stimulate a love for the German language. A young man whose parents were German, but whose training in the language of his fathers was very slight, confessed that it was with feelings of the deepest humility and regret that he observed his failing, when in attendance on the class exercises in the *Turnhalle*. It is customary with German parents, even with those who do not feel the importance of teaching their children German, to send them to the Turner halls to receive gymnastic instruction. In this way many receive the first real impetus to attain a proficiency in the German language.¹

Again, in the theatre, Germans have exerted an influence on the social development of Colorado. Denver boasts a well

¹ The *Colorado Herald* says: "Die Deutschen im ganzen Lande — und besonders die Deutschen im Westen — haben eine hohe Kulturmission zu erfüllen, um einerseits den Beweis zu liefern, dass sie auf der Höhe der Zeit stehen und den Fortschritt auf erzieherischem Gebiet mit Thatkraft und Unternehmungsgeist zu würdigen wissen, andererseits den Amerikanern durch Veranschaulichung ihres besten Könnens und Wissens zu bezeugen, dass die nativistischen Angriffe, die allenthalben gegen die Ausländer gemacht werden, gänzlich aus der Luft gegriffen sind und der Wahrheit entbehren. Es ist deshalb Pflicht des gesamten Deutschtums, sich eine Ehre daraus zu machen . . . fortwährend für die gute Sache einzulegen."—April 4, 1912.

managed German theatre where plays are produced in the German language, modern pieces that have been successful in Germany, as well as classical pieces. Like the *Turnverein*, the theatre exerts a manifold influence. It is a factor in the educational and cultural life and it stimulates public amusement.

Scores of German citizens in Colorado have ably followed professional careers, thus quietly aiding in the social betterment of the community. There have been many examples in the medical profession of Germans who have won marked distinction. Among them was William Harmon Buchtel,¹ whose father was a native of Stuttgart, and who for many years practiced medicine in Denver. He became well known both for his large practice and through his connection with various medical associations. David H. Coover,² likewise of German parentage, is another of Denver's distinguished medical scholars, also Oscar Joseph Pfeiffer, at one time visiting surgeon of St. Luke's hospital, T. J. Horn, who, by the way, was a lineal descendant of Martin Luther,³ Louis Auerbach, J. Ernest Meien and John Elsner. In legislative and judicial lines, Germans have shown marked ability. Already in 1860, we find a German, Charles Dahler, serving as election judge. The Hon. Frederick J. Ebert was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1876 and assisted in framing the fundamental law of the State. The Hon. Silas B. Hahn who was of German ancestry, was a member of the Colorado Territorial

¹ Dr. Buchtel has been associated with the State Medical, Denver and Arapahoe County and the American Medical Association, was a charter member of the Western Association of Obstetrics, was professor in the Gross Medical school and physician to St. Luke's Hospital.

² Dr. Coover held the position of clinical ophthalmology and otology in Gross Medical College; he was especially famed as specialist in diseases of the eye and ear. He was an active member of the American Association of Railway Surgeons, the American Medical Society, the Colorado State Medical Society, the Denver Pathological Society and the Denver and Arapahoe County Medical Society. Cf. *Denver and Vicinity*, pp. 297, 500.

³ Cf. *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp. 389-476, 207-208; *History of Denver*, p. 308; Hall, IV, p. 428.

Legislature of 1870.¹ Among the pioneer dentists of German blood in Denver, we mention especially R. H. Bohn and George B. Hartung. The sign, "Deutscher Zahnarzt" is now very familiar in Denver.

Robert S. Roeschlaub, a native of Munich, is the architect to whom Colorado owes many fine buildings. Two years after opening his office in Denver (1873), he was appointed architect to the School Board. Nearly all the school buildings are said to have been erected under his supervision. Critics grant him wider commendation than any other American architect for excellence in design and uniform superiority of construction.²

Scarcely any profession has figured more prominently in the development of Colorado than civil and mining engineering. The celebrated founder of the German Colony in the Wet Mountain Valley, Carl Wulsten, worked untiringly at this profession, becoming an authority in surveying, draughting, map-making and engineering. Another German, Max Boehmer, a native of Lüneburg, located in Colorado in pioneer days and, during the years 1879-1898, was consulting mining engineer at Leadville.³ Frederick J. Ebert came to Denver in 1860 with an engineering corps to survey the Kansas Pacific Railroad. Two years later, he drafted the first map of the Territory and assisted in making the first land survey. In 1863 he was appointed city engineer of Denver. His surveys are said to

¹ The Hon. A. W. Rucker, while judge of the criminal court of Lake County, distinguished himself for his ability, and for the fairness with which he carried out his decisions. Cf. *History of the Arkansas Valley*, pp. 207-388. John Heisler, as member of the House of the General Assembly, 1892-'94, introduced several important bills, among them the bill to charge tuition to students from other States attending the State University. Cf. Hall, IV, 472. Hon. Simon Guggenheim, of German parentage, was United States Senator from Colorado, 1907-'13. E. P. Jacobson, a native Prussian, was for many years a leading lawyer in Denver.

² Cf. Hall, IV, 345, 551-552. *History of Denver*, pp. 561. Many public buildings in Colorado owe to Mr. Roeschlaub their origin, among them the State Normal School at Greeley, the State Institute for the Deaf, Mute and Blind at Colorado Springs, many of the buildings of Denver University and the Trinity Methodist Church of Denver.

³ Cf. *Who's Who in America?*—1908-1909, p. 178.

be the only ones that have stood the test of time and of the law.¹

The pages of Colorado's political history abound with examples of German citizens who, in office and out, have striven successfully for large and important issues. William H. Meyer and Frederick J. Ebert, as members of the Constitutional Convention, aided in the perfecting of Colorado's statehood. William N. Byers, another public-spirited German, labored incessantly for the admission of Colorado to the Union. A recent Governor of the State, the Hon. John F. Shafroth, a German of the second generation, had, before rising to the dignity of the gubernatorial chair, an excellent record in the practice of the law. While member of Congress (1894-1898), he introduced bills providing for the opening of forest reserves to exploration and to mining claims, and helped secure the passage of a bill providing for water reservoir sites at numerous points in Colorado and also providing for the protection of the forests from fire.² Hon. E. P. Jacobson, a Prussian by birth, while a member of the Colorado State Senate, introduced and vigorously championed a bill for railway regulation. Among the German pioneers of 1860 who were members of the legislature were Hans J. Kruse, a native of Holstein, Louis F. Bartels, of Hannover, and Judge Amos Steck, a German by descent.³ As State Senator, Henry Suess, a native of Hesse-Cassel, filled well his position as chairman of the roads and bridges improvement committee of the legislature, 1885-1886. Likewise, in city and county offices, many German citizens have held important positions, as: John H. Behrens, a native German, mayor, city treasurer, etc., of Evans, Colorado; Edward Monash, born in Posen, President of the board of Public Works and Park Commissioner, Denver; Rudolph Koenig, mayor of Golden; Samuel Clammer, mayor of Fort Collins; John L. Herzinger, mayor of Loveland; also August

¹ Name originally Eberhart. Cf. *History of Denver*, pp. 416-418. *Denver and Vicinity*, p. 400; Hall, IV, p. 431.

² Cf. *Western Press Bureau*, 956 Gas & Electric Bldg., Denver. By permission of Gov. Shafroth.

³ Cf. Hall, IV, pp. 485-486, 490. *History of Denver*, pp. 587-588.

L. Rohling, Joseph C. Cramer, Charles Seitz, Michael Dueber, Albert Walter and Joseph Schutz, who have held positions in city councils, etc.¹

Summarizing the results found in the present chapter, it has been shown that the Germans in Colorado have, like their fellow countrymen everywhere in the United States, been active in religious organizations. They have established and supported a large number of German churches in proportion to their numbers, besides giving their support to many in which the English language is spoken. In addition to their religious work, the German churches exert a broadening influence on their environment and an educating influence on their attendants. As it is to Germany that the world has long looked with deep respect in matters pertaining to education, so it was to the Germans in Colorado that we looked with keen interest to learn what they have done for the intellectual life of the State. It has been shown in the foregoing pages that they have not been found wanting, but that they have been active in promoting the cause of education. German journalism in Colorado strives to inculcate the doctrine of the value of relaxation. By keeping this in mind, the German element performs a recog-

¹ County elections for the fall of 1864 had among the successful candidates the following: Arapahoe County, judge, H. J. Bredlinger, A. Hanauer, Samuel Brantner, William Hess, George C. Schleier; Gilpin County, Assessor, Frank Messenger; U. S. Assessor, Daniel Witter; Member of House of Representatives, Lake County, Jacob Ehrhart; Alderman, Tritch Kasserman. Cf. *Rocky Mountain News*, September 6, 1864.

The Territorial Government had the following German representatives:

- 1st Provisional Government—D. Shafer (of a council of 8).
- 3d Legislature 1864—Charles W. Walter, President, J. A. Koontz, H. Henson.
- 4th Legislature 1865—Hiram J. Brendlinger, J. H. Ehrhart.
- 5th Legislature 1866—Louis F. Bartels, T. C. Bergen, J. C. Ehrhart.
- 6th Legislature 1867—Jacob E. Ehrhart, W. J. Kram.
- 7th Legislature 1868—Amos Steck, J. E. Wurtzbach, W. J. Kram, C. Leimer.
- 8th Legislature 1870—S. B. Hahn, Amos Steck, W. H. Meyer.
- 9th Legislature 1872—B. W. Wisebart, Frederick Steinhauer.
- 10th Legislature 1874—F. Steinhauer, J. H. Uhlhorn, W. H. Meyer, J. Koontz.
- 11th Legislature 1876—S. B. Hahn, Frederick Kruse, H. O. Rettberg, Herman Duhne.

nized service. By encouraging the people to relax they helped to produce a better balanced community, one possessing a keener zest for work and a capacity for greater accomplishment. We have seen the struggles of the attempts at a German newspaper in Colorado arrive at a happy conclusion. German societies, as we have noted, perpetuate the national customs for which, unfortunately, many of our immigrants find no adequate substitute in the new country. The *Turnvereine* stimulate interest in systematic exercise and in the intelligent care of the body. In arousing an interest in the German language, these societies influence, as well, the intellectual life of their members. Half a dozen professions, not including religious and educational fields, have been adorned by men of German blood in Colorado. They have, as pioneers, in several cases hewn their way through perplexing and disheartening conditions, they have promoted the cause in which they were especially interested, thus benefiting the entire community. Finally, in political life, we have seen many Germans filling important positions of trust. From the earliest days, they were conspicuous in advancing the cause of the Commonwealth, and their zeal has continued up to the present. The Germans in Colorado have never been office seekers; when the situation was calm, they were rarely heard in public affairs. It needed only the suggestion of a critical situation, however, to call forth their reserve of fighting strength for what they felt to be right and conducive to the best interests of the commonwealth.



Rudolf Brand.

Ganz unerwartet verstarb am Freitag, den 24. März 1916, in San Diego, Cal., wo er sich niederlassen wollte, Herr Rudolf Brand, welcher seit ihrer Gründung der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois als Mitglied angehörte.

Herr Brand, welcher ein Alter von 65 Jahren erreichte, war in Rheinhessen geboren und trat nach einer gründlichen Jugend-erziehung, die den Grund für seinen weiten Geschäftsblick legte, im Jahre 1866 als Lehrling in eine kleine Brauerei in Gutersblum am Rhein ein, wo er das Brauereigewerbe von Grund auf erlernte. Bereits im Jahre 1868 kam er nach Chicago, wo er in der Brauerei der Busch & Brand Brewing Company Anstellung fand. Da Herr Rudolf Brand von dieser Zeit an fortwährend mit dieser Brauerei verbunden war, so ist es angebracht, einige Bemerkungen über diese Brauerei hinzufügen, weil sich damit auch ein Teil der Lebensstätigkeit unseres verstorbenen Mitgliedes wieder spiegelt.

Die Brauerei, welche von Herrn Valentin Busch und Herrn Michael Brand gegründet wurde, hatte ihr Hauptgeschäft zuerst in Blue Island, doch unterhielt sie noch ein anderes Geschäft in No. 29 und 31 Cedar Straße, Chicago, wohin im Jahre 1863 die Hauptgeschäfts-Office verlegt wurde. Kurz vor dem verhängnisvollen großen Chicago Feuer, bei welchem auch die Brauerei an der Cedar-Straße in Flammen aufging, trennten sich die Teilhaber der Firma und Herr Michael Brand übernahm die Brauerei an der Cedar-Straße für sich und betrieb dieselbe unter dem Namen der Michael Brand Brewing Company weiter. Es spricht Bände von der Tatkraft und dem Geschäftssinn der damaligen Besitzer, daß bereits drei Monate nach dem Feuer die Brauerei wieder vollständig in Betrieb war. Im Jahre 1878 wurde die Brauerei zu einem Malzhaufe umgewandelt und im selben Jahre wurde an Elston Avenue und Snow Straße eine neue Brauerei, die im Jahre 1889 durch Verkauf und Verschmelzung an die United States Brewing Company überging, errichtet.

Seit dem Rücktritt des Herrn Michael Brand in diesem Jahre stand Herr Rudolf Brand an der Spitze dieses Unterneh-

mens und blieb seinem Lebensberufe bis zum Januar dieses Jahres treu, als er sein Amt niederlegte, um seinen Lebensabend in Muße zu genießen. Es war dem stets tätig gewesenem Manne nicht vergönnt, sich der Ruhe, die er so redlich verdient hatte, zu erfreuen. Er hatte sich zuerst in Los Angeles niedergelassen, beschloß aber bald nach San Diego überzusiedeln und dort seinen Wohnsitz aufzuschlagen. Kurz nach seiner Ankunft in San Diego erkrankte der überaus rüstige Mann und starb trotz der besten, sofort zu Rate gezogenen Ärzte. Als er vom Tode ereilt wurde, befanden sich seine Gattin, sowie sein Sohn Alfred Brand und dessen Gattin bei ihm, während ein zweiter Sohn, Philipp Rudolf, sich in Chicago befand, um die vom Vater übernommenen Pflichten zu erfüllen.

Trotz der großen Ansprüche, die die Führung seines ausgedehnten Unternehmens an ihn stellten, fand Herr Brand doch Muße, auch öffentliche Pflichten, zu denen er von seinen Mitbürgern berufen wurde, auf sich zu nehmen und treu und gewissenhaft zu erfüllen, und so bekleidete er das Amt eines Stadtschachmeisters und war auch Mitglied der Schulbehörde.

Die Beisetzung der Ueberreste des Verstorbenen fand auf dem Graceland Friedhofe in Chicago statt.

Sophus Dabelstein.

Durch das Ableben des Herrn Sophus Dabelstein am 31. Mai 1916 verlor die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois ein treues Mitglied, welches immer und zu jeder Zeit für den deutschen Kulturgedanken in Amerika seine Opfer zu bringen bereit war.

Geboren am 26. Juli 1867 zu Altona, Holstein, als der Sohn des zu Hamburg verstorbenen Kaufmanns Wm. Dabelstein, widmete er sich nach Absolvierung seiner Schulzeit dem Studium der Philologie, konnte aber infolge des Todes seines Vaters das Studium nicht vollenden und entschloß sich im Frühjahr 1892 nach Amerika zu reisen, wo er sich sofort nach Chicago wandte. Kurz nach seiner Ankunft gelang es ihm, zunächst eine Anstellung an der „Illinois Staats-Zeitung“ zu erhalten, welche Stellung

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er jedoch bereits nach einem Jahre auf Rat eines Arztes aufgab und war er dann etwa zwei Jahre lang als Inspektor in einer Zweirad-Fabrik tätig. Seit dieser Zeit war Herr Dabelstein als Rechtsanwalt tätig und gelang es ihm auch infolge seines wirklich vornehmen Wesens, viele Freunde um sich zu sammeln und zu fesseln, die sein vorzeitiges Ableben innigst bedauern. Auch als Redner hat sich Herr Dabelstein einen Ruf weit über die Grenzen des mittleren Westens hinaus erworben.

Herr Dabelstein, welcher in den Kreisen der deutschen Freimaurer, besonders in der Lessing Loge, welcher er angehörte, dem Solsteiner Sängerbund, der Ven Hur Loge und manchen anderen deutschen Vereinen eine endlose Zahl von Freunden besaß, war unverheiratet geblieben und hinterließ seine alte, bejahrte Mutter und eine Schwester, mit welchen er sein Heim gemacht hatte.

Am 4. Juni 1916 wurden seine sterblichen Reste auf dem Graceland Friedhofe unter der zahlreichen Beteiligung seiner Freunde beigesetzt.



Sechzehnte Jahresversammlung

der

Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois,
abgehalten am

**Samstag, den 19. Februar 1916, um 4 Uhr nachmittags, in Zimmer
1615 Wallers Gebäude, 5 Süd Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.**

Der Präsident, Herr Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, eröffnete die Versammlung in üblicher Weise, worauf auf Antrag das Protokoll der letzten Jahresversammlung ohne weiteres Verlesen angenommen wurde, da dasselbe bereits dem Druck übergeben war.

Der Schriftführer verlas darauf seinen Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft im vergangenen Jahre wie folgt:

Infolge eines Beschlusses der letzten Jahresversammlung wurde ein Komite bestehend aus den Herren Mannhardt und Kalb ernannt, welches in Gemeinschaft mit Ihrem Präsidenten den Auftrag hatte, sich mit der University of Chicago Press in Verbindung zu setzen und zwar zu dem Zwecke, eine Vereinbarung zu treffen, wodurch die Verbreitung unserer Publikationen in weitere Kreise gebracht werde. Als Grundlage dafür wurde angenommen, daß die University of Chicago Press im ganzen Lande und auch im Auslande Vertreter zum Vertrieb ihrer Publikationen habe und die von ihr verlegten Bücher überall anerkannt und hoch geschätzt werden und dementsprechend einen leichteren Absatz finden, was dadurch noch mehr erzielt wird, weil die University Press regelmäßig Zirkulare an Lehranstalten und Bücherfreunde aussendet, worin die Publikationen angezeigt und empfohlen werden, was sicherlich zum weiteren Bekanntwerden unserer Publikationen beitragen würde.

Dieses Komite hatte daraufhin am 25. März 1915 eine Zusammenkunft mit Herrn Newman Miller, dem Direktor der University of Chicago Press, und wurde ein Kontrakt vorgelegt, welcher in ähnlicher Weise abgefaßt war wie der, welcher zwischen der Chicago Historical Society und der University of Chicago Press abgeschlossen worden war und durch welchen die University of Chicago Press den Vertrieb der Publikationen der Chicago Historical Society übernommen hatte.

Nachdem in dieser Besprechung ein allgemeines Einverständnis erzielt worden war, legte die University of Chicago Press einen ausgearbeiteten Kontrakt vor, welcher von Herrn Mannhardt geprüft und gut befunden und am 1. April 1915 von Ihrem Präsidenten und Sekretär für die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historische Gesellschaft von Illinois unterzeichnet wurde, womit die University of Chicago Press den Vertrieb aller Publikationen unserer Gesellschaft übernahm.

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Dem abgeschlossenen Kontrakt zufolge hat die University of Chicago Press das ausschließliche Recht des Vertriebs unserer Publikationen für die Dauer des Kontrakts, welcher zunächst bis zum 30. Juni 1916 in Kraft besteht und dann von Jahr zu Jahr weiterläuft, bis derselbe von der einen oder anderen Seite gekündigt wird, was sechs Monate vor Ablauf des Vertrages durch eingeschriebenen Brief geschehen kann.

Die University of Chicago Press wird jedes Jahr bis zum 15. August für die im verflossenen Jahre verkauften Bücher Abrechnung geben, doch sei hier bemerkt, daß die Mitglieder und regelmäßigen Abonnenten die Zusendungen von der University Press erhalten und wofür dieselbe keine Vergütung und nur den Ersatz für Verpackung und Postauslagen erhält. Für den Verkauf der Bücher ist die Vereinbarung getroffen, daß unsere Gesellschaft ein Drittel des Verkaufspreises, also \$1.00 netto per Buch erhält, während aus den übrigen \$2.00 die University Press alle Unkosten bezahlt und ihren Gewinn zieht.

Infolge dieses Vertrages wurde am 1. Juni 1915 der ganze Bestand unserer alten Drucksachen mit Ausnahme der Nachdrücke, wie aus nachfolgender Aufstellung hervorgeht, an die University of Chicago Press abgeliefert — mit Ausnahme einiger weniger Exemplare, welche für Arbeits- und Rezensionszwecke zurückgehalten wurden.

Vol. 1.	1901	Budram-Einband	.....	22	Kopien
2.	1902	Papiereinband	.....	120	"
2.	1902	Budram-Einband	.....	2	"
3.	1903	Papiereinband	.....	120	"
3.	1903	Budram-Einband	.....	13	"
4.	1904	Papiereinband	.....	120	"
4.	1904	Budram-Einband	.....	14	"
5.	1905	Papiereinband	.....	120	"
5.	1905	Budram-Einband	.....	13	"
6.	1906	Papiereinband	.....	120	"
6.	1906	Budram-Einband	.....	14	"
7.	1907	Papiereinband	.....	120	"
7.	1907	Budram-Einband	.....	13	"
8.	1908	Budram-Einband	.....	10	"
8. No. 1 Januar	1908	Papiereinband	.....	120	"
8. No. 2 April	1908	do.	.....	122	"
8. No. 3 Juli	1908	do.	.....	120	"
8. No. 4 Oktober	1908	do.	.....	120	"
9. No. 1 Januar	1909	do.	.....	119	"
9. No. 2 April	1909	do.	.....	120	"
9. No. 3 Juli	1909	do.	.....	120	"
9. No. 4 Oktober	1909	do.	.....	120	"
10. No. 1 Januar	1910	do.	.....	120	"

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

10.	No. 2 April	1910	do.	.....	119	Kopien
10.	No. 3 Juli	1910	do.	.....	120	"
10.	No. 4 Oktober	1910	do.	.....	120	"
11.	No. 1 Januar	1911	do.	.....	120	"
11.	No. 2 April	1911	do.	.....	120	"
11.	No. 3 Juli	1911	do.	.....	120	"
11.	No. 4 Oktober	1911	do.	.....	120	"
12.	Jahrbuch	1912	do.	.....	324	"
13.	Jahrbuch	1913	do.	.....	120	"

Zu gleicher Zeit übernahm die University of Chicago Press auch das inzwischen von der Klein Printing Company fertiggestellte Jahrbuch 1914, wovon indessen nur 550 Exemplare an die University Press und die übrigen 50 für Arbeits- und Rezensionszwecke bei Ihrem Sekretär abgeliefert wurden.

In der Zwischenzeit hatte Ihr Sekretär auch eine genaue Liste der Vereinsmitglieder, Abonnenten, Gesellschaften, mit welchen Bucheraustausch stattfindet, und der Zeitungen und Personen, welche bisher unsere Publikationen frei zugestellt erhielten, angefertigt und der University of Chicago Press zur Verfügung gestellt, welche sofort mit der Verteilung begann, und sind soweit keine Klagen über vernachlässigte oder verzögerte Ablieferung eingelaufen.

Nach der angefertigten Liste wurden 4 Exemplare an Ehrenmitglieder, 38 an Lebenslängliche Mitglieder, 133 an Jahresmitglieder in Chicago, 51 an Jahresmitglieder in Amerika außerhalb Chicago, 17 an Bibliotheken, 13 an historische Gesellschaften, 41 an Zeitungen und Professoren zur Rezension, 36 an Freunde und Abonnenten in Deutschland und 10 an Freunde hier in Amerika für Empfehlungszwecke geliefert.

Was sich noch im Besitze der University of Chicago Press befindet, kann erst nach dem 15. August festgestellt werden, nach Abrechnung über den Vertrieb unterbreitet worden ist.

Aus unserer Verbindung mit der University Press ist bereits jetzt in soweit ein Ersparnis zu verzeichnen inbezug auf die Unkosten in der Verteilung der Bücher. Während in früheren Jahren eine oder mehrere Personen mit der Verteilung der Bücher beschäftigt wurden, soweit das auf Chicago Bezug hat, wurde diese diesmal von der University Press vorgenommen und betrugen die gesamten Unkosten, die wir an dieselbe zu vergüten hatten, \$45.20, während im Jahre 1913 \$84.75 und im Jahre 1914 \$88.65 dafür ausgegeben wurden.

Während des Jahres lief eine Anzahl Bestellungen ein, die alle an die University of Chicago Press zur Ablieferung und Berechnung überwiesen wurden.

Dass die Bekanntmachung des Jahrbuches durch diese Verbreitung bereits ihren Einfluß geltend macht, geht aus den vielen Anfragen her-

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

vor, die uns zugegangen sind. Leider waren viele darunter, in welchen um Austausch oder um direkte Schenkung gebeten wurde, doch wurden alle solche Gesuche mit Ausnahme desjenigen von der Missouri Historical Society abschlägig erwidert, oder den Betreffenden angeraten, sich an die University of Chicago Press zu wenden.

Nach den eingegangenen Berichten wurde unserm Jahrbuch 1914 ein sehr ehrender Empfang zuteil, indem die Kritiken und Rezensionen von Privatpersonen und Zeitungen die denkbar günstigsten waren und haben wir auch einige neue Mitglieder dadurch gewonnen.

Sogleich nach Erscheinen des Jahrbuchs 1914 begann Herr Dr. Michael Singer von der „Illinois Staats-Zeitung“ eine Serie von Artikeln über deutsch-amerikanische Geschichte in der „Staats-Zeitung“ und der „Freie Presse“ zu veröffentlichen, welche Artikel verschiedene unserer alten Freunde aufrüttelten, sich an ihre Pflicht unserer Gesellschaft gegenüber zu entsinnen, und auch von auswärts ging uns auf Grund dieser Artikel ein Aufnahmegesuch zur Mitgliedschaft zu.

Wenn die große Zeit, in welcher wir leben, und in welcher wohl ein Jeder sein Scherflein dazu beiträgt zur Heilung der durch den Krieg geschlagenen Wunden, vielleicht wohl dazu angelegt ist, ein regeres Interesse für das Gebiet deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichte wachzurufen, so darf doch unter den Umständen auch angenommen werden, daß es vielleicht etwas verfrüht sei, eine besondere Anstrengung für den Erwerb neuer Mitglieder zu machen, und sollte dieser Punkt dann erst besonders ins Auge gefaßt werden, wenn in den blutgetränkten Gefilden der Welt die Friedenssonne sich durch die Nebel der Voreingenommenheit und Verfeindung hindurchdrängt und in diesem Lande die allgemeine Stimmung wieder ruhiger und klarer geworden ist, sodaß unser zielbewußtes Streben in jenen Kreisen Eingang finden kann, die sich zur Zeit vorurteilsvoll und abweisend gegen Alles verhalten, was an Deutschland erinnert, und selbst wenn es nur das deutsche Kulturwerk in diesem Lande ist, das sie nun sicherlich nicht zu würdigen imstande sind oder vielmehr nicht würdigen und anerkennen wollen.

Um auf die Mitgliedschaft unserer Gesellschaft zurückzukommen, so ist bereits vorhin auf die Zahl der ausgegebenen Jahrbücher darauf hingewiesen worden. Wir können hier bemerken, daß wir 262 Mitglieder zählen, von welchen aber nur 186 zahlende sind, wirklich eine kleine Zahl, ein kleiner Kreis unter der großen Menge der Deutsch-Amerikaner.

Durch den Tod haben wir in den letzten Tagen einige Mitglieder verloren, besonders die Herren Heinrich Schwellkopf in Chicago und G. S. Emminga in Golden, Illinois, welchen an passender Stelle in gebührender Weise gedacht werden wird.

Abbestellt haben fünf Mitglieder und eine große Zahl ist mit ihren Beiträgen im Rückstande geblieben, wie aus dem nachfolgenden Finanzbericht hervorgehen wird.

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Das im Jahre 1915 für das Jahr 1914 veröffentlichte Jahrbuch hat einen Umfang gehabt, welcher von manchen Seiten als überreichlich erklärt wurde und sind auch die Kosten dafür recht bedeutend gewesen, das Jahrbuch 1914 hat nämlich einschließlich der Nachdrucke \$1088.65 gekostet, und zwar lautete die Rechnung wie folgt:

600 Kopien—693 Seiten @ \$1.05.....	\$ 727.65
Veränderungen auf der Linotypemaschine.....	120.00
Veränderungen im Handsatz	31.00
Einbinden 600 Kopien.....	30.00
6 verschiedene Nachdrucke.....	170.00
600 Kartons	10.00

Im Ganzen\$1088.65

worauf die Klein Printing Company jedoch einen

Rabatt erlaubte von..... 30.00

sodas also der wirkliche Kostenpunkt.....\$1058.65

ausmacht. Von dieser Summe wurde aus den Geldern der Gesellschaft \$600.00 bezahlt, während der Restbetrag von \$458.65 von Herrn Dr. Schmidt in seiner üblich freigebigen Weise übernommen wurde.

Das Jahrbuch 1915 ist bereits in den Händen des Druckers, der Firma Fred Klein Company, welche das Buch wiederum für \$1.05 die Seite drucken wird. Herr Professor Goebel wird darauf sehen, daß wenige Veränderungen im Text vorgenommen werden, um die Kosten so niedrig wie nur möglich zu halten. Die Geo. Banta Publishing Company, Menasha, Wis., hatte sich ebenfalls um den Druck des Buches bemüht, doch wurde die Fred Klein Company vorgezogen.

Um nun auf den Finanzbericht zurückzukommen, so hatte die Gesellschaft am 1. Januar 1915 in den Händen des Schatzmeisters die Summe von\$ 426.66

Es gingen ein von Herrn E. W. Kalsb, wie jedes Jahr..... 10.00

Von Herrn Edward Neder, auch ein lebenslängliches Mitglied, in Dayton, Ohio..... 10.00

Von Herrn Dr. Alexander Wiener..... 10.00

Zwölf Jahresmitglieder zahlten je \$5.00..... 60.00

Zwei Mitglieder je \$6.00..... 12.00

An alten Buchrechnungen wurden bezahlt..... 18.25

144 Mitglieder zahlten je \$3.00, worin indeß mehrere enthalten sind, die ein oder mehrere Jahre im Rückstande waren, sodas die wirkliche Zahl nur 140 beträgt..... 432.00

Der Schwaben-Verein hat uns in großmütiger Weise 50.00 zugewiesen und betragen demnach die ganzen Einnahmen bis zum 31. Dezember 1915.....\$1028.91

Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Dem stehen gegenüber:

Zahlung an Fred Klein Company für das Jahrbuch 1914	\$600.00
Unkosten an University of Chicago Press.....	45.20
Besondere Expres- und Portokosten, Drucksachen, Briefbogen, u. s. w.....	45.67
	<hr/>
Im Ganzen	\$ 690.87

was am 1. Januar 1916 einen Bestand von..... \$ 338.04
in den Händen des Schatzmeisters ließ, wozu natürlich die Eingänge von
rückständigen Mitgliedern kommen werden, um die Kosten für das Jahr-
buch 1915 zu decken.

Der Bericht wurde mit großem Interesse entgegengenommen und
entspann sich eine lebhafte Besprechung über die Mitgliederfrage und
wurde auch die Frage angerührt, ob es nicht angebracht wäre, wieder
auf die frühere Form einer Vierteljahrschrift zurückzufallen, um die
Unkosten zu verringern.

Der Bericht des Schriftführers wurde daraufhin auf Antrag des
Herrn Mannhardt entgegengenommen.

Herr Dr. Schmidt machte darauf aufmerksam, daß sehr wahrschein-
lich eine lebhaftere Tätigkeit der Gesellschaft nach Außen hin und zwar
in der Gestalt von Vorträgen entwickelt werden könnte, doch hänge dieses
von Umständen ab.

Die Frage der Mitgliedschaft wurde von den Herren Dewes und
Nihlein aufgenommen, besonders mit Bezug auf die Beiträge für die
lebenslängliche Mitgliedschaft, und gaben verschiedene der Anwesenden
die Erklärung ab, daß sie von nun an \$10.00 per Jahr als Mitglieds-
beitrag entrichten würden, was mit großer Genugtuung und dem
Wunsche, daß sich recht viele Mitglieder dazu bereit erklären würden,
entgegengenommen wurde.

Als nächster Punkt der Tagesordnung wurde die Wahl von fünf
Direktoren anstelle von fünf auscheidenden Direktoren vorgenommen.

Die auscheidenden Herren waren: Heinrich Bornmann, Quincy;
Dr. E. P. Raab, Belleville; H. von Waderbarth, Chicago; Philipp H.
Dilg, Evanston, und Fritz Mees, Chicago.

Das Nominationskomitee empfahl daraufhin die Wahl der folgenden
fünf Herren als Direktoren der Gesellschaft für die Jahre 1916 und
1917: Henry Bornmann, Quincy; E. G. Nihlein, Chicago; H. von
Waderbarth, Chicago; Ph. H. Dilg, Evanston, und Fritz Mees, Chicago,
und wurde die Empfehlung des Nominationskomitees einstimmig gut-
geheißen, worauf der Vorsitzende die genannten Herren für die Amts-
dauer von zwei Jahren für gewählt erklärte.

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Auf Antrag des Herrn Girtten, unterstützt von Herrn Seifert, wurden die Beamten der Gesellschaft alle für das laufende Jahr einstimmig wiedererwählt.

Herr Guttman, Vorsitzender des Finanz-Ausschusses, versprach sein Möglichstes zu tun, um eine rege Propaganda für die Erwerbung neuer Mitglieder ins Leben zu rufen.

Nach einer weiteren allgemeinen Besprechung für die Wohlfahrt der Gesellschaft, an welcher sich besonders die Herren Uihlein, Detwes, Girtten, Mannhardt, Seifert, Mees, Dilg und Guttman beteiligten, trat Vertagung ein.

Ergebenst unterbreitet,

Ma g Baum,
Schriftführer.



Beamten der Gesellschaft.

Verwaltungsrat:

1. Jahr:	2 Jahre:
J. J. Dewes	Heinr. Bornmann, Quinch
E. W. Kalb	E. G. Nihlein
Dr. O. L. Schmidt	H. von Waderbarth
H. W. Guttmann	Ph. S. Dilg
Rudolf Seifert	Fritz Mees

Beamte:

Dr. O. L. Schmidt	Präsident
J. J. Dewes	1. Vize-Präsident
H. v. Waderbarth	2. Vize-Präsident
A. Holsinger	Schatzmeister
Ph. S. Dilg	Finanz-Sekretär
H. W. Guttmann	Vorsitzer des Finanz-Ausschusses
Max Baum	Sekretär

Mitglieder und Abonnentenliste.

Ehren-Mitglieder:

Professor E. B. Greene, Champaign, Ill.
 Professor F. J. Herriott, Des Moines, Iowa.
 S. A. Rattermann, Cincinnati, O.
 Professor Hermann Onden, Heidelberg.

Lebenslängliche Mitglieder:

Adams, Hon. Geo. E.	Koop, Julius
Arend, Wm. Nif.	Langhorst, S. A.
Bartholomay, Henry, Jr.	Löhr, Justus
Boldentved, Wm.	Madlener, A. J.
Brand, Virgil	Mannhardt, Wm.
Buß, Otto E.	Matthai, Dr. Ph. S.
Dewes, J. J.	Mees, Fritz
Eberhard, Dr. Waldemar	Mohr, Louis
Frankius, Fritz von	Ortseifen, Noam
Günther, Dr. O.	Paeple, Hermann
Grommes, J. B.	Rendthorff, Hermann
Hummel, Ernst	Rudolph, Frank
Kalb, E. W.	Schaff, Gotthard

Deutscli-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Franz, Hugo
 Fromann, Emil
 Galauer, Karl
 Gaertner, F. C.
 Georg, Adolph
 Germania Bibliothek
 Girtten, M. F.
 Gerstenberg, C.
 Grand, Leopold
 Graue, Joh. Geo.
 Greifenhagen, O. F.
 Guenzel, Louis
 Gunther, C. F.
 Habicht, F. C.
 Halle, C. W.
 Harnisch, Dr. F. C.
 Hettich, Wm. A.
 Heuermann, Frz. M.
 Holinger, Konful A.
 Holinger, Dr. J. J.
 Hunde, Karl
 Huttmann, G. W.
 John, Rev. Dr. R.
 Josetti, Arthur
 Kersten, Hon. Geo.
 Klee, Mag
 Klein, Fred
 Knoop, Ernst G.
 Kochs, Theo. A.
 Kölling, John
 Köpfe, Chas. C.
 Kohls, Louis M.
 Krause, John M.
 Kuhlmei, Albert
 Ladner, Dr. C.
 Ladner, Oberst Franz
 Lauth, J. P.
 Legner, W.
 Leicht, Edm. A.
 Loeb, Jakob M.
 Lüders, August
 Mattern, Lorenz
 Meyer, Chas. C.
 Nebel, Fritz
 Newberch Library

Nigg, C.
 Orb, John A.
 Pappe, Mag C. J.
 Pietich, C. F.
 Piper, Frau G.
 Public Library
 Ramm, C.
 Recher, D.
 Rhode, R. C.
 Rose, Edm.
 Rubens, Harry
 Rudolph, Joseph
 Rüchheim, Louis
 Sala, Louis
 Sartorius, Ludwig
 Saurenhaus, Dr. Ernst
 Schapper, Fred C.
 Schenk, Chas. W.
 Schmidt, A. C. C.
 Schmidt, C. W.
 Schmidt, Fred M.
 Schmidt, Dr. O. L.
 Schmidt, R. C.
 Schmidt, Wm.
 Schiekwohl, Phil.
 Schuchardt, Mag
 Schulze, Wm.
 Schulz, Henry
 Schulze, Paul
 Schwaben-Verein
 Schwefer, Wm.
 Siebel, Prof. J. C.
 Singer, Dr. Michael
 Suder, G.
 Teich, Mag
 Terry, Prof. Dr. W. C.
 The Swedish American Historical
 Society
 Thiesen, J. W.
 Traeger, J. C.
 Turngemeinde Bibliothek
 Wackerbarth, G. von
 Wagner, C. W.
 Wagner, Fritz

Deutsches Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

Schneider, Otto C.
Seifert, Rudolph
Seipp, Mrs. Conrad
Spöhr, C. A.
Trid, Joseph
Wihlein, Ed. G.
Wader, C. G.
Weiß, John G.

Wieboldt, Wm. A.
Wolf, Adam
Dahton, O.
Neder, Eduard
Greenville, O.
Rabenberger, Geo. A.
Milwaukee, Wis.
Bode, Henry

Jahres-Mitglieder und Abonnenten:

Albany, N. Y.
N. Y. State Library
Baltimore, Md.
Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der
Geschichte der Deutschen in
Maryland
Belleville, Ill.
Andel, Casimir
Edhardt, Wm., Jr.
Kath, Elias
Merd, Frau Chas.

Berlin, Deutschland
Kgl. Universitäts-Bibliothek,
Bibliothek des Kgl. Preussischen
Ministeriums für geistliche Un-
terrichts- und Medizinal-Ange-
legenheiten
America Institute

Bismarck, N. D.
State Historical Society

Bloomington, Ill.
Behr, Heinrich
Beich, Paul F.

Bonn, Deutschland
Kgl. Universitäts-Bibliothek

Boston, Mass.
Friedmann, Leo M.

Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Jessen, Prof. Dr. Karl Detlev

Champaign, Ill.
Buestemann, A. C.

Chicago, Ill.
Anderson, W. G.

Abele, Dr. Ludwig
Bachle, G. v.
Baum, Max
Baumann, Friedr.
Baur, John
Baur, Seb.
Berghoff, Herm. G.
Bergmann, Fred G.
Berkes, Gustav A.
Birl, Jakob
Blodi, John
Blum, August
Borchardt, Alb. F.
Brammer, F. G.
Brand, Horace L.
Breitung, Alb.
Brentano, Hon. Theo.
Bühl, Karl
Büttner, Emil
Bunte, Gustav A.
Chicago Historical Society
Christmann, Dr. Geo. A.
Cutting, Prof. Starr W.
Deutsch-Amerikanischer Ratio-
nalsbund, Zweig Chicago
Diehl, F.
Dierks, Hermann
Dilg, Phil. G.
Ebel, Emil
Eberlein, Fred
Eitel, Emil
Eitel, Karl
Ernst, Leo
Fleischer, Chas. G.
Frankel, Julius

Deutsches Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Wiener, Dr. Alex. | Golden, JIL. |
| Wild, Dr. Theo. | Cunningham, John J. |
| Wijom, Felix v. W. | Gotha, Deutschland |
| Zimmermann, W. F. | Herzogl. Landesbibliothek |
| Zimmermann, Dr. A. G. | Grand Rapids, Mich. |
| Zelinski, Dr. W. F. von | Friedrich, Jul. A. J. |
| Cincinnati, O. | Greifswald, Pommern |
| Rippert, Hon. Alfred R. | Rügen-Pommerscher Geschichts- |
| Wilke & Co., A. G. | verein |
| Columbia, Mo. | Hamburg, Deutschland |
| The State Historical Society | Kloß, Konrad |
| of Missouri | Hamilton, Ohio |
| Comford, Texas | Benninghoven, C. |
| Lohmann, F. S. | Hannover, Deutschland |
| Davenport, Iowa | igl. Landesbibliothek |
| Richter, August Dr. | Heidelberg, Deutschland |
| Ride, Hon. C. A. | Universitätsbibliothek |
| Turngemeinde | Highland, JIL. |
| Des Moines, Iowa | Hörner, John S. |
| Historical State Dep. | Hobart, Ind. |
| Dowagiac, Mich. | Bruebach, Georg |
| Schmidt, Wm. | Indianapolis, Ind. |
| Dresden, Deutschland | Public Library |
| Kaufmann, Wih. | State Library |
| Duluth, Minn. | Keller, Joseph |
| Annette, Percy S. | Iowa City, Iowa |
| East St. Louis, JIL. | State Historical Society |
| Berthmann, Robert | Joliet, JIL. |
| Eugene, Ore. | Sehring, Louis |
| University of Oregon | Ithaca, N. Y. |
| Evansville, Ind. | Cornell University |
| The Willard Library | Kiel, Holstein |
| Forest Park, JIL. | igl. Universitätsbibliothek |
| Kaul, Heinrich. | Königsberg i. Pr. |
| Fort Wayne, Ind. | igl. Universitätsbibliothek |
| Radwih, Hermann | La Salle, JIL. |
| Goettingen, Deutschld. | Carus, Dr. Paul |
| igl. Universitätsbibliothek | Leipzig, Deutschland |
| Frankfurt am Main | Heinrich's Buchhandlung |
| Städtische Bibliothek | Noßberg Buchhandlung |
| Franz, Prof. Alexander | |

Deutsches = Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter

- | | |
|--|---|
| Madison, Wis.
State Historical Society of
Wisconsin | Philadelphia, Pa.
University of Pennsylvania
German American Hist. Society
Deutscher Pionier-Verein |
| Manitowoc, Wis.
Baensch, Emil | Posen, Deutschland
Kaiser Wilhelm Universität |
| Marburg, Deutschland
Universitätsbibliothek | Princeton, N. J.
University Library |
| McHenry, Ill.
Sirrh, Dr. Karl | Quincy, Ill.
Bornmann, Henry
Busch, Julius W.
Dick, Mrs. Emma
Christ, Phil.
Heidemann, A. G.
Kampen, C. W. C.
Mohrenstecher, D. A.
Denning, Frau G. A.
Pape, T. B.
Public Library
Ruff, W. J.
Rupp, Fred
Schott, Frau J. B.
Sprick, G. C. |
| Milwaukee, Wis.
Public Library
Frank, Dr. Louis | Rod Island, Ill.
Haas, Joseph L. |
| Moline, Ill.
Reese, Wm. A. | South Bend, Ind.
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